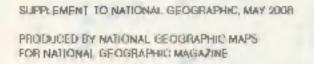


INSIDE THE DRAGON

SPECIAL ISSUE





Gilbert M. Grosvenor, Chairman John M. Fahey, Jr., President and CEO Chris Johns, Editor in Chief William E. McNulty, Director of Maps, National Geographic Magazine

City Population

More than 100 cities in China have a population of at least 1 million, twice the number than in 1980.

BEIJING	More than 4 million		
Nanjing	1 to 4 million		
Lhasa	100,000 to 999,999		
Lijiang	Fewer than 100,000		

Land Cover Some areas are mixtures of cover types.



AZAKHS

YRGYZSTAN

An

The Roof of the World The Himalaya reached its status as the world's tallest range about around the towering dunes of the 20 million years ago and still rises Taklimakan Desert, which domihalf an inch a year as the Indian landmass continues to push north. The Plateau of Tibet, at an average together. Its southern edge holds elevation of 13,000 feet, is scattered oases like Hotan, renowned for with mountains that top 20,000 feet. Permafrost regions cover over half its surface; much of the plateau is protected for wildlife.

Deserts

The fabled Silk Road divided nates a basin shaped 250 million years ago as Eurasia was pleced Mountains. Eastward, expanses of rock and salt marshes mark the Gobi, a Mongolian word for desert

National Boundaries

The People's Republic of China is the world's fourth largest country, States. Its borders expanding and contracting over millennia, China reached roughly its current shape in the 18th century, during the Qing dynasty. The scoop of its northern border marked the last major change to the country's outline, when Mongolia became Independent in 1924.

China shares boundaries with 14 countries along its perimeter only slightly smaller than the United of some 13,740 miles. Only Russia counts as many neighbors. Though China and India have recently forged stronger economic ties, their border remains contentious at several points. China claims as territory a stretch of land in northeast India, east of Bhutan, but does with India. In turn, India claims the not occupy it. This dispute dates from 1914, when the border, called China firmly occupies.

IND

the McMahon Line, was drawn in a treaty between Tibet and the British colonial government of India. China dld not recognize Tibet's 1913 claim to independence, so it has never considered the treaty legal. China also claims but does not occupy two small sections along the western Himalaya border Kashmir region of Aksai Chin, which

TEXT: SHELLEY SPERRY AND JANE VESSELS PRODUCTION: DIANNE HUNT, MAP; MOULY SNOWBERGER, DESIGN CONSULTANTS: JONATHAN C AUTCHISON, UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG, AND STEPHAN GRAHAM, STANFORD UNIVERSITY MAP EDIT: DAVID MILLER GIS: THEODORE A SICKLEY MAP DATA: SHUTTLE RADAR TOPOGRAPHY MISSION, NASA/MUA, NASA EARTH OBSERVATORY, MODIS/TERRA VEGE ATION CONTINUOUS FIELDS, NASA; DAK RIDGE NATIONAL LABORATORY LANDSCAN 2008/03-BATTELLE, UND GLOBAL LAND COVER CLASSIFICATION, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLANCE FOR INFORMATION REGARDING AVAILABLE MAPS CALL 1 800/082/1643 OR WRITE TO NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAPS. PO BOX 4357, EVERGREEN, CO R0407-4357, YOU CAN FIND US ON THE INTERNET AT NATIONAL DECKRAPHIC, COMMARPS

COPYRIGHE & 2008 NATIONAL GEOBRAPHIC SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D.C. PRINTED MARCH 2000



Loess Plateau

The Yellow River's name reflects the color of dust that blows east from the desert and creates a fine but unstable Loess Plateau, gullied 215 million years ago, eons of jade washed down from the Kunlun historic to the present have carved into serrated hills, stone forests, homes into loess hillsides, vulner- and caverns. To the southwest, able to quakes that, across China,



Karst Landscape

Traditional Chinese landscape painters found a muse in regions like Guilin, where haunting karst soil called loess. Deposits as thick peaks line rivers like dragon teeth. as a thousand feet form the fertile On land that emerged from the sea southeastern checkerboard of by erosion. Farmers from the pre- uplift and erosion etched limestone took shape 140 to 65 million years of the Yellow and the Yangtze in rivers plunging off the Plateau of killed millions in the past century. Tibet carve spectacular gorges.

Sichuan Basin/Southeast Ringed by mountains raised by a series of tectonic collisions, the Sichuan Basin is drained by Asia's of feet deep by the Yellow River longest river, the Yangtze. China's and Its tributaries-powered the worn granite mountains and basins years ago. Connecting the realms

The fertility of this alluvial flatland-



North China Plain

layers of silt deposited thousands rise of China's first dynasty 4,000 ago as tectonic plates pushed land the south, the Grand Canal, the together to form southeastern Asia. world's longest at more than a Taiwan's mountains, on an active thousand miles, was built in stages tectonic boundary, are still growing. starting in the fourth century B.C.

Bulassbaatar

G

Manola

Boreal Treasures Northeastern mountain ranges hold China's largest virgin evergreen forests and shelter endangered Siberian tigers. Eroding mountain sediments created the fertile, heavily farmed Northeast China Plain, Near Wudalianchi, in Heilongjiang Province, crater lakes fill 5 of the 14 cones of a 200-squaremile volcano field, which last saw an eruption in the mid-1700s.

Dong Qi

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

SEA OF JAPAN

(EAST SEA)

USS

China Journey of Rock and Water

One of the most dramatic collisions in the geologic annals of Earth transformed the land that is China. India's tectonic crash into Eurasia starting 35 million years ago raised the Himalaya, crowned by Mount Everest on the China-Nepal border, and lifted the Plateau of Tibet, the world's highest. The new elevations shifted climate patterns, creating deserts to the north and drenching southeast China with monsoon rains. From the plateau's glaciers, China's lifeline rivers-the Yangtze and the Yellow-journey east to the sea through progressively lower but still rugged elevations. In the east, on plains of river-borne soil and land bounded by weathered ranges, China became, about 6500 B.C., one of the first regions to domesticate crops and animals, sustaining a population that has grown into Earth's largest.

Emperor's Homecoming

Outriders of the Kangxi emperor's traveling retinue enter the guarded heart of the Forbidden City in 1689 after an eight-week tour, one of many the Oing dynasty emperor took through his kingdom. On this scroll commemorating the trip, military and civilian elites line a courtyard to welcome Kangxi. Beyond, sedan bearers wait to carry him toward the Hall of Supreme Harmony, shrouded lif clouds to convey the divine nature of imperial rule. "PICTURE OF THE SOUTHERN TOUR" (1691-95) BY WANG HUI, PALACE MUSEUM, BELING

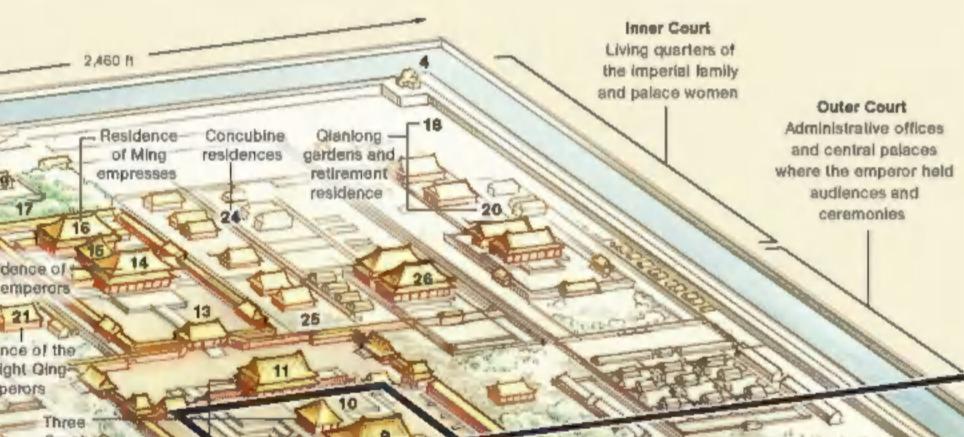
THE. FORBIDDEN **C**ITY

For nearly 500 years, from the early 15th century to the early 20th, 24 emperors of the Ming and Qing dynasties ruled China from a sweeping palace complex at the heart of Beijing. Built like a treasure box of walls within walls, the Forbidden City was a cloistered imperial residence, a scene of ceremonial grandeur, and also the bustling apex of China's vast and intricate bureaucracy. Every detail in this precise maze of crimson walls and yellow tile roofs-the imperial colors-made the Forbidden City (Zijincheng, in Chinese) a reflection of the emperor's heavenly mandate to preserve harmony and hierarchy.

ZI-PURPLE Color of the North Star in Chinese tradition: the polestar symbolized the emparor as the center of all under heaven.



CHENG-CITY The world's largest palace complex, it housed 10,000 people in the peak of the Qing dynasty.



Yin and Yang

The palace design obeys the ancient Chinese principles of yin and yang, the balance of opposites. Major halls of the outer court face south to embody the yang, or masculine. The northern inner court is yin, or female.

A 170-foolwide moat and 32-loot-high wails protected the complex

The emperor issued proclamations and presided over military parades at the Meridian Gale

MAJOR STRUCTURES OF THE FORBIDDEN CITY

- 1 Meridian Gate
- 2 Moat

A AND THE AVENUE

- 3 Walls of the Forbidden City 4 Watchtowers
- 5 West, East, and North Gates

Outer Court (ceremonial and

- administrative quarters)
- 6 Golden River Bridges 7 Gate of Supreme Harmony
- Hall of Literary Glory
- 9 Hall of Supreme Harmony

10 Hall of Central Harmony 11 Hall of Preserving Harmony

12 Hall of Martial Grace

Inner Court

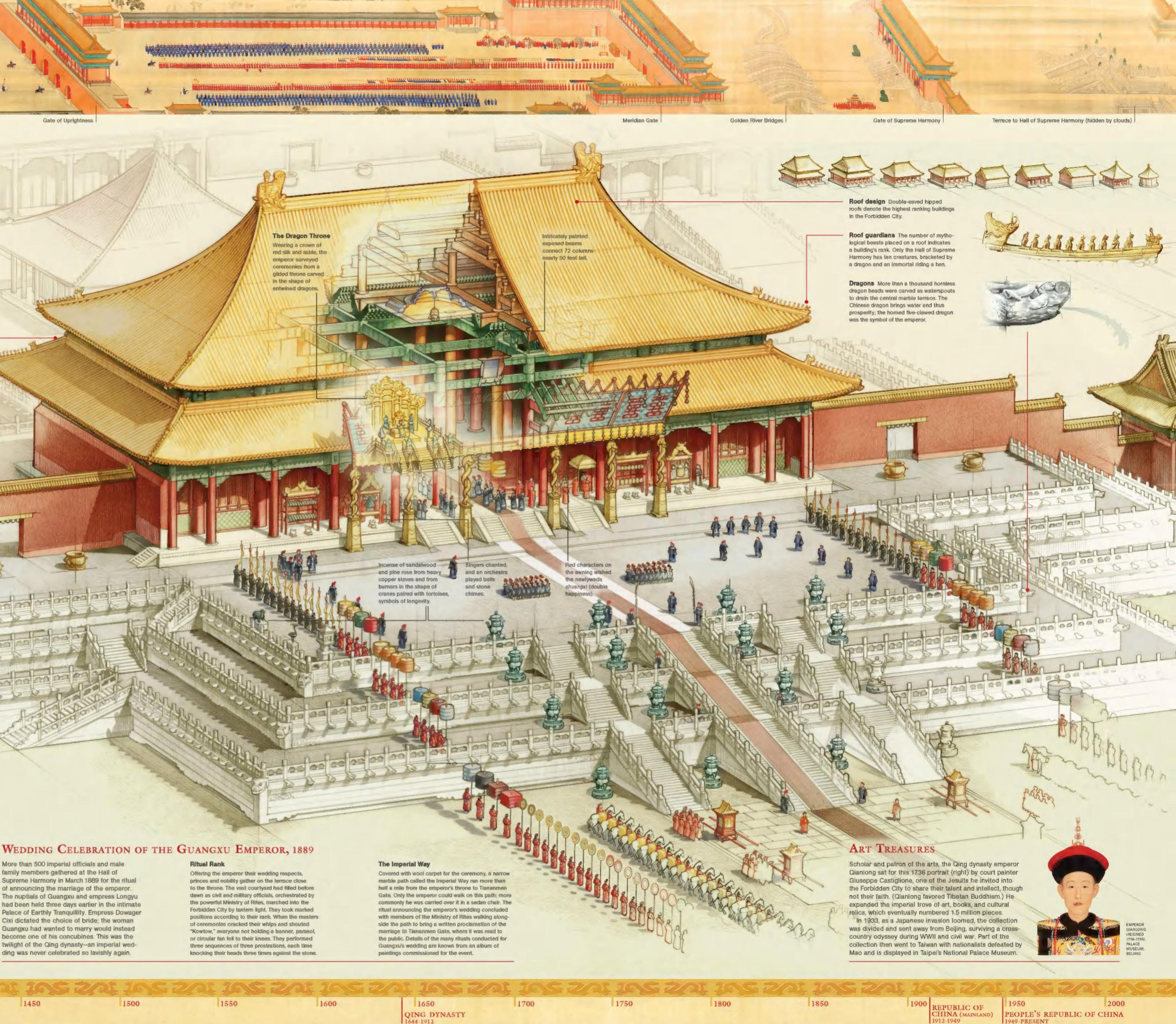
- (domestic quarters)
- 13 Gate of Heavenly Purity 14 Palace of Heavenly Purity
- 15 Hall of Union
- 16 Palace of Earthly Tranguillity
- 17 Imperial Garden
- 18 Qianiong's Garden

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

SUPPLEMENT TO NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE, MAY 2008 DEGIGN: JUAN VELASCO ART: BRUCE MORSER TEXT: JUAN VELASCO AND JANE VESSELS RESEARCH: SHELLEY SPERRY PRODUCTION: MOLLY SNOWBERGER CONSULTANTS: WANG SHIWEL FORBIDDEN CITY RESTORATION OFFICE, LISA CLAYPOOL, REED COLLEGE

19 Hall of Imperial Peace 20 Palace of Tranquil Longevity

- 21 Hall of Mental Cultivation
- 22 Palace of Compassion
- and Tranquillity 23 Six West Palaces
- 24 Six East Palaces
- 25 Hall of Abstinence
- 26 Hall for Worshipping Ancestors 27 Pavilion of the Rain of Flowers



CONSTRUCTION, 1406-1420

Gate of Heavenly Peace (Tiananmen Gate)

A declaration of power by the young Ming dynasty, the Forbidden City followed 1,500year-old tenets of city planning dictated by a classic Confucian text. Only in a properly ordered capital could an emperor be the mediator of cosmic balance between heaven and earth. Fire was a constant threat to the timber-tramed brick buildings and gates. Soon after completion, the three central great halls burned to ash and were not reconstructed until 1440. Parts of the complex burned and were rebuilt at least eight times during the Qing dynasty, the last time in 1888.

Hall of Supreme Harmony

The grandest paisce in the complex, elevated on a three-tiered marble terrace, it held nothing but the emperor's most elaborate throne. The hall was generally reserved for paramount rituals: New Year celebrations, enthronements, the emperor's birthday, and royal weddings.



More than 500 imperial officials and male family members gathered at the Hall of Supreme Harmony in March 1889 for the ritual of announcing the marriage of the emperor. The nuptials of Guangxu and empress Longyu had been held three days earlier in the intimate Palace of Earthly Tranquillity. Empress Dowager Cixi dictated the choice of bride: the woman Guangxu had wanted to marry would instead become one of his concubines. This was the twilight of the Qing dynasty-an imperial wedding was never celebrated so lavishly again.

Gate of Uprightness

MING DYNASTY 1368-1644

1403 Third emperor of the Ming dynasty, Yongle (left) the Forbidden City in the decides to move the capital same spot where Kublai from Nanjing to Beijing, in Khan, grandson of Genghis part to counter threats from Khan and first emperor of the north by the Mongols. the Mongol Yuan dynasty, Their Yuan dynasty had been had established his own overthrown by his father, the imperial palace (extolled first Ming ruler.

1406-1420 Yongle erects

by Marco Polo) in 1267.

1450

1500

The Forbidden City's male servants were eunuchs (right) men from poor families who chose castration in exchange for the opportunities of court life. They were the only adult males, aside from the emperor, allowed to remain in the inner court at night.

EMPEROR YONGLE (REIGNED 1403-1424) NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM TAIPEI

Corruption and apathy fueled 1644 The last Ming the Ming dynasty's decline, emperor hangs himself setting off power struggles between officials and court Manchu troops, making eunuchs who had gained influence. Wanli, who reigned Manchuria, are asked to 1573-1620, refused to see his protect the city. Instead ministers or read official papers for nearly 20 years.

STATUETTE OF EUNUCH PALACE MUSEUM, BELING

as rebels seize Beijing. their own incursion from they conquer China, starting the Qing dynasty.

The long Qing reigns of Kangxi (1661-1722) and his grandson Qianlong (1736-1796) reinvigorate the court with artistry, scholarship, and efficient administration, tempering resentment that Manchus were ruling the majority Han Chinese.



1851-1908 The Empress Dowager Cixi (left), once a fifth-rank concubine, was the de facto ruler of China for 47 years. Her extravaforeign powers mark the

EMPRESS DOWAGER CIXI (BORN 1835). OGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

1912 The last emperor, Puyi

(right), abdicates at age six as an anti-imperial revolution launches the Republic of China. Puyi is permitted gance, refusal to modernize, to live in the inner court until and inability to stand up to 1924. In 1925 the Forbidden City opens to the public as waning of the Qing dynasty. the Palace Museum.



1949 Atop the Forbidde City's Tiananmen Gate, Ma proclaims the People's Republic of China.

1987 The Forbidden City is named a World Heritage site. 2005 An extensive 16-year restoration project starts.

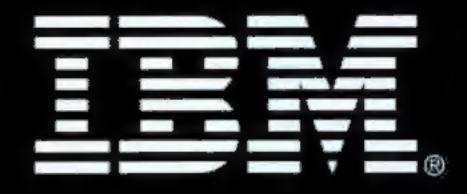
EMPEROR PUYI (REIGNED 1909-1912) PALACE MUSEUM, BELING



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IBM and National Geographic have teamed up on the Genographic Project – a five-year study that uses sophisticated computer analysis of DNA contributed by over 200,000 people to map how humankind has populated the globe and uncover the genetic roots we all share. Start seeing the bigger picture at ibm.com/dna STOP TALKING **START DOING**





The question isn't how do you reach your goal, it's who do you follow? 100





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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

MAY 2008 - VOL. 213 - NO. 5



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By Peter Hessler Photographs by Fritz Hoffmann

Special Supplement: China/Forbidden City

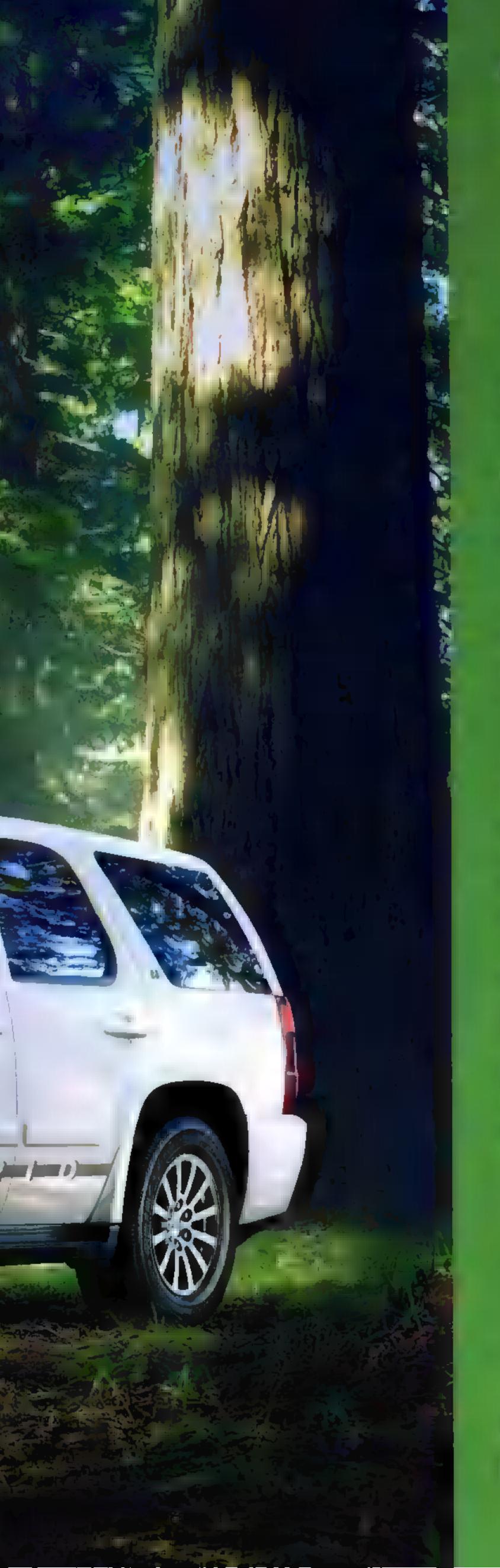


FRITZ HOFFMANN

With a borrowed robe and fattering courage, tourist Sha Mengxiang poses for a yak-back portrait at China's Qinghai Lake.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY





Introducing the Green Car of the Year.* The 2008 Chevy Tahoe Hybrid. America's first full-size hybrid SUV.

That's right. Green Col Journal's Green Car of the Year's the full-size Chevy Tahoe Hybrid The announcement came at the Los Angeles Auto Show

The award is given for new or significantly revamped alternative fuel-powered vehicles.

Whis is a milestone in many respects," said Green Cor. Iournal editor Ron Cogan People don't think green when SUVs are concerned.

The 2008 Chevy Tahoe already has the best fuel economy iii its class. And now, with its new two-mode hybrid technology 1944 ALEC

the Tates States competitive with much smaller vehicles While driving in the city, Tahoe Hybrid 2WD achieves the same city fuel economy as a 🖉 cylinder Toyota Camry!



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Yunnan Yunnan Xinjiang **City Digs Unconventional Names Olympic Torch Run Zeal for Faith**



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Viewed From Above Photographer George Steinmetz flew in motorized gliders (and crashed more than once) to capture images of China. See gallery of his aerial pictures.



City Digs

- **VISIONS OF EARTH 16**
 - ARCHAEOLOGY
 - CULTURE GEOGRAPHY
 - CULTURE

SPACE	Rocketing Ahead
ENVIRONMENT	Losing Land to Sand

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The People's Pictures Readers' photos of China-and Chinatowns-are showcased.

On the Cover

The Chinese jade dragon, shown actual size, is about 2,500 years old. Photo by Robb Harrell, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

Cover printed on recycled-content paper



Throughout the Issue

This first symbol of the Chinese I Ching system of divination is associated with strength, creativity, and the fourth lunar month.

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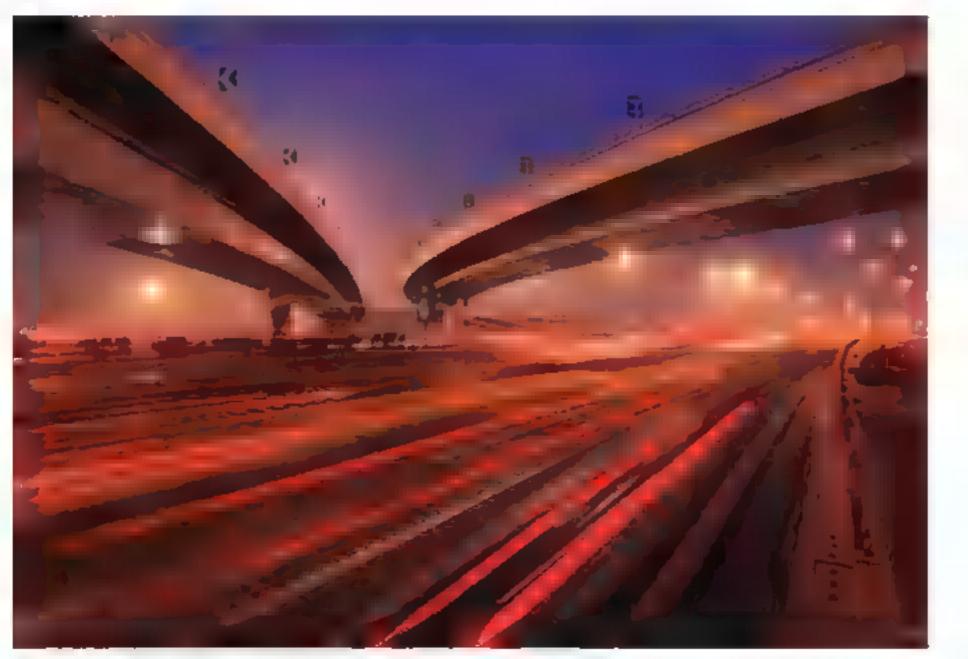
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EDITOR'S NOTE

I'm in a Beijing hutong—a narrow alley in the old city—playing Ping-Pong with a monk. It is 1985, and I'm on a photographic assignment for this magazine. Though many Chinese are afraid to be seen with a foreigner, the monk doesn't care and invites other monks to join us. It is the best experience I've had in three months. That night I take a small, dilapidated taxi to the Beijing Hotel, one of the few places where foreigners can stay. It's 8:30; the streets are dark and deserted. The few cars on the road aren't using their headlights, I'm told, because the drivers don't want to burn out the bulbs.



PEOPLE BEHIND THE STORIES

Ted C. Fishman While writing "The New Great Walls" for this issue, Fishman was struck by how "China today has, for architects and young



foreigners in business, some of the qualities that Paris had in the 1920s for writers and

artists. New forms and experiments flower daily. Of course, in Beijing, as in Paris, not everyone is a master creator. In China, where intellectualproperty standards are still evolving, I met some architects who have had whole buildings

Cars now fill Beijing highways both day and night.

4

Twenty-two years later I'm in front of the Beijing Hotel at 8:30 at night. The driver of I sleek new Audi taxi pulls up with headlights blazing; he doesn't seem concerned about burning out I bulb. The city pulses with life. It's washed in light and jammed with traffic. An attractive Chinese woman approaches a number of men, then comes to me, asking if I need a massage. I don't need a massage; I need I map something to help me understand the cataclysmic changes of the past few decades.

China can overwhelm. The shock waves of its growth reverberate in every corner of the globe. That's what this issue is—a map to help readers navigate the terrain of exuberance and anxiety that is China today.

copied, I ran into the same issue on a smaller scale when I met readers who had purchased a pirated edition of my book, China, Inc., in the street stalls of Beijing."

Peter Hessler A frequent contributor to this magazine, Hessler was the primary consultant for this special issue



and wrote the opening and closing articles. A decade ago he was a volunteer in China.

"The lessons you learn in the Peace Corps are often more useful than those you learn in college," he says, "and my two years in Fuling represented the most important educational experience I ever had. During my initial semester teaching there, one student wrote a description of me: 'Though he was educated at Oxford University, Mr. Hessler is very knowledgeable.' That student



was wiser than his years. I had a lot to learn in Fuling."

PHOTOS (CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT): ZHENG YONGKANG, CHINAPHOTOWORLD: NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHER MARK THIESSEN: MARK LEONG



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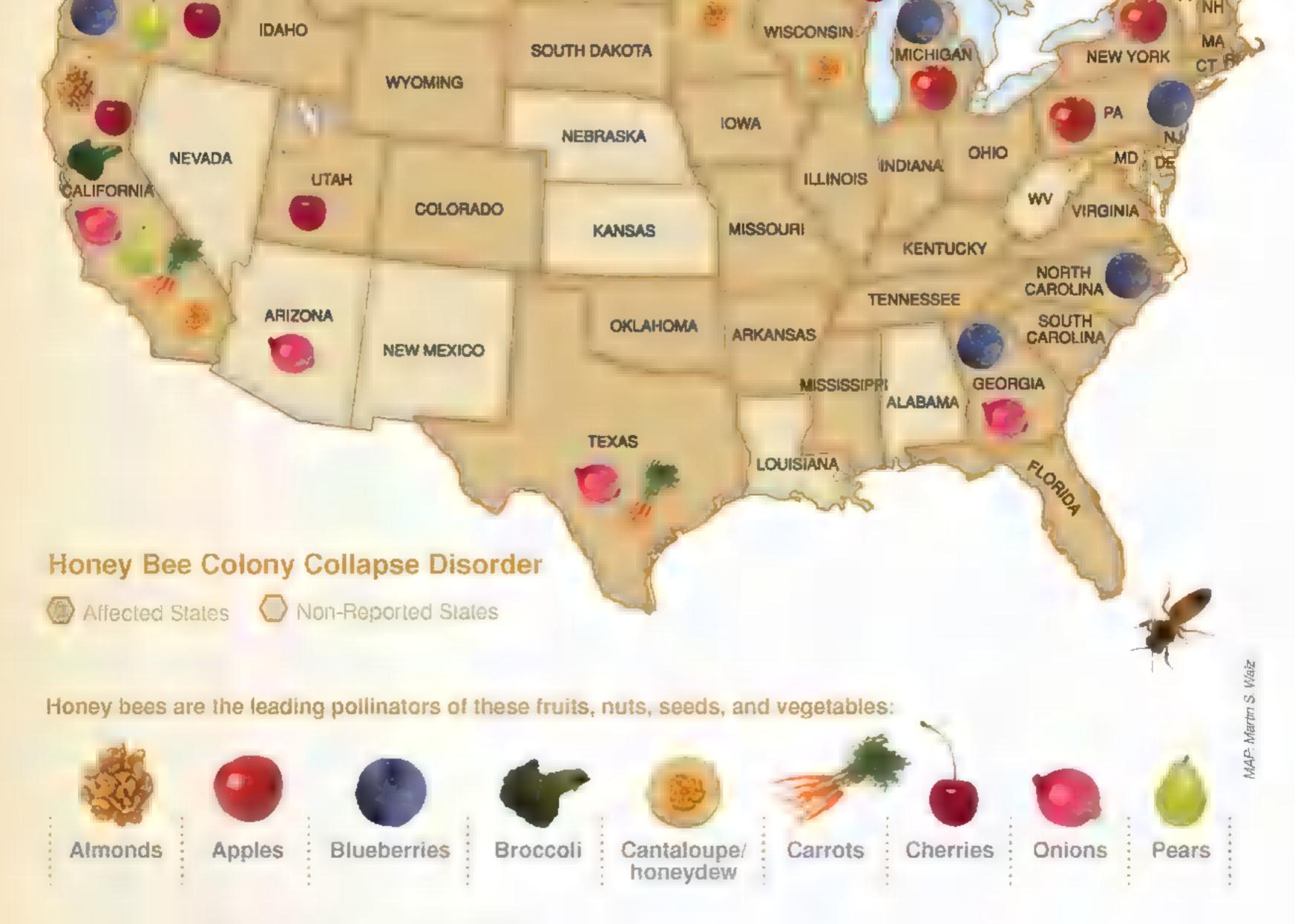
But honey bee populations are rapidly and mysterlously disappearing from coast to coast, with 35 states reporting colony losses. This phenomenon, which scientists are calling Colony Collapse Disorder, poses a serious risk to our beedependent natural food supply.

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Food icon map distribution reflects major producing states

Sources

"The Value of Honey Bees As Polknators of U.S. Crops in 2000," Cornell University. CRS Report for Congress "Recent Honey Bee Colony Declines.

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6 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC • MAY 2008

Everyday life making it tough to breathe?

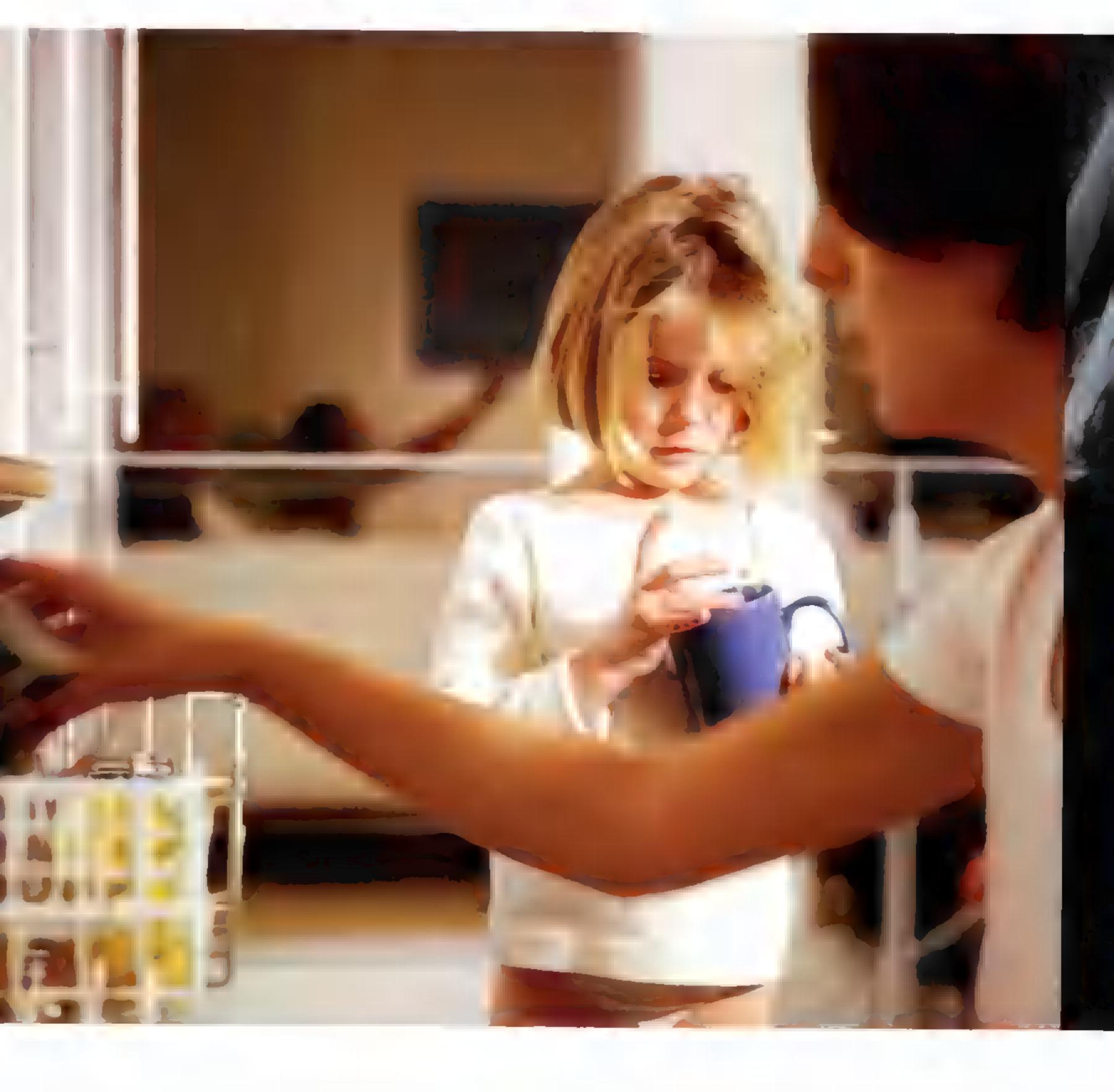
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How do you sleep?







When Mom was my age, there weren't many ways to prepare financially for what was coming. You just had to work hard, save what you could and hope for the best. So here I am, taking care of my mom and my kids at the same time. I've never worked so hard, or stretched a dollar so far.

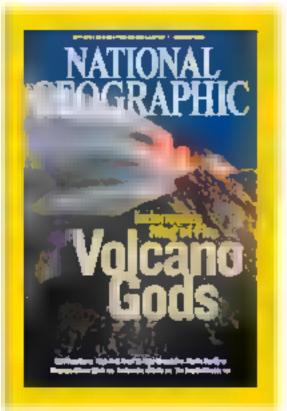
Today you can prepare for what's coming.

And we have. Our insurance will help take care of our bills later in life so our kids won't have to. So, even though some days I fall into bed exhausted, I sleep well.

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LETTERS



January 2008 "The Emptied Prairie" filled the mailbox this month as many readers took issue with our story on rural North Dakota. "Could Charles Bowden now do a follow-up on the beauty and the wonder of said state?" wrote Eileen Regi of Shade Gap, Pennsylvania. "Come on, redo your hard, harsh story and find the good things. I go back every chance: I get."

Comment on May stories at ngm.com.

The Emptied Prairie

Our North Dakota prairies are far from empty. Our ancestors were committed to thriving here, and so are we. When I look out on the vast land my husband's great-grandfather broke by hand and horse-drawn plow more than 125 years ago, am honored to be preserving it for our children. We chose to move from a larger city to this rural homestead only months ago. I see something far different than the dismal picture painted in your article. I am filled with gratitude for those who passed by here before me and built the buildings that are admittedly in a state of disrepair. I see beauty in those buildings and have an unbridled appreciation for the rich history they represent. We are not alone here. Granted, the distance between neighbors has grown through the years, but there is a community in North

Dakota unlike any other. Until you have lived here, I don't think you can fully understand the bond that runs through each and every one of us.

DORIS COOPER Reynolds, North Dakota

The article correctly presented the slow loss of rural population in North Dakota, but also presented the state as a cold, lifeless place that no one would want to live in. Nothing could be further from the truth. As a transplanted Nebraskan, I love the quality of life this state and its people provide. Author **Charles Bowden says that North** Dakota is "rarely visited state," yet tourism is also a vital part of our economy. Witness the thousands who come here to see North Dakota's badlands, prairies, and other scenic wonders. Thousands more come to fish our lakes and rivers and hunt waterfowl and upland game. DAVID LINDEE Minot, North Dakota

and Minnesota. This isn't happening just in North Dakota, but across the country.

> DARBY G. BAUER Urbandale, Iowa

There has been a lot of angry talk here about your article on the dying towns of North Dakota, I have lived here for almost 30 years, and I have to tell you that you got the story right. There is a stark and haunting beauty about this part of the world, but to try and make a living outside of the cities is cruel undertaking. People are so loyal to this place that they are very hesitant to find fault or admit that the highwater mark for the economies of these communities was long ago, never to return.

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202-828-5460 Include name, address, and daytime telephone. Letters may be edited for clarity and length. The changing landscape of the Great Plains is hardly newsworthy. It is true that there is a population shift. However, I believe the facts show that the population decline has stabilized. Many of these same shifts in population from rural

RAY WERTZ Bismarck, North Dakota

What you left out is the fact that North Dakota has a growing economy, well-educated citizens, low crime, great infrastructure, and one of the cleanest environments in America. There is certainly growth and opportunity in North Dakota these days, but more importantly, there is a mood of optimism across the land. We are working hard to take our efforts to the next level, and an article that showcases the spirit, inventiveness, and progress we're making would certainly be in order. I encourage you to take a broader look at our state and help us convey to the world what North Dakotans already know: that North Dakota is great place in which to live, work, visit, study, have fun, and do business.

JOHN HOEVEN

areas to urban cities can also

be observed in Iowa, Illinois,



Bismarck, North Dakota

8 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC . MAY 2008



Long-beaked Echidna (Zaglossus bruijni)

Size: Head and body length, 60 - 100 cm (24 - 40 inches) Weight: 6 - 16 kg (13.2 - 35 lbs) Habitat: Widely distributed on islands of New Guinea and Salawati, usually in areas of high rainfall Surviving number: Unknown; populations thought to be declining.



Photographed by David Parer and Elizabeth Parer-Cook

WILDLIFE AS CANON SEES IT

Think distinct. The long-beaked echidna is one of only three species of monotremes-primitive mammals that lay leathery, shell-covered eggs. Though it has hair and produces milk, some of its internal anatomy resembles that of birds and reptiles. Because the female lacks teats, she nurses her young through "milk patches" inside her pouch. The echidna also lacks teeth, but has unique backward-pointing spines

spines help keep it from becoming prey itself; when threatened, it curls its body into a prickly ball. Uncontrolled hunting remains a huge problem, however, and is making the rare creature rarer still.

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beautiful state, and I felt it was depicted as if it were a Third World country. Struggling small towns and abandoned houses can be found all over the United States. This state is far from barren. even in winter. Have you ever seen a sun dog? It's something I've never seen anywhere else. It occurs when ice crystals in the air refract early morning light, creating dazzling diamond shapes of beautiful colors paralleling the sun. If our state is so barren, how did it become Teddy Roosevelt's favorite? Never discussed in the article is the national park named after him, or the badlands in the southwestern part of our state. What about the Red River Valley, which has some of the most fertile land in the country? I cannot deny the artistic ability of photographer

I have lived half of my 15 years in this

LETTERS



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Eugene Richards. I found the pictures captivating. The prairie truly is where the earth meets the sky; perhaps there will be a time when its stunning beauty is told of and appreciated.

> **RACHEL LEVY** Valley City, North Dakota

The author of the article is from Arizona. My father lives in Arizona. He has no grass in his neighborhoodonly gravel and cacti. There is nothing green as far as the eye can see, from his front yard all the way to the mountains in the distance. I haven't seen other parts of Arizona, but what if I were to write an article for National Geographic with that limited view? The picture would be pretty bleak and very inaccurate. I feel certain that there are characters in Arizona, that there are unhappy people, and that there are also small towns that are dying in the scorching sun and parched earth. But I'll also bet there are vibrant communities, beautiful scenery, and happy, optimistic people. I didn't realize how attached to this state | was until I had read Charles Bowden's article. In

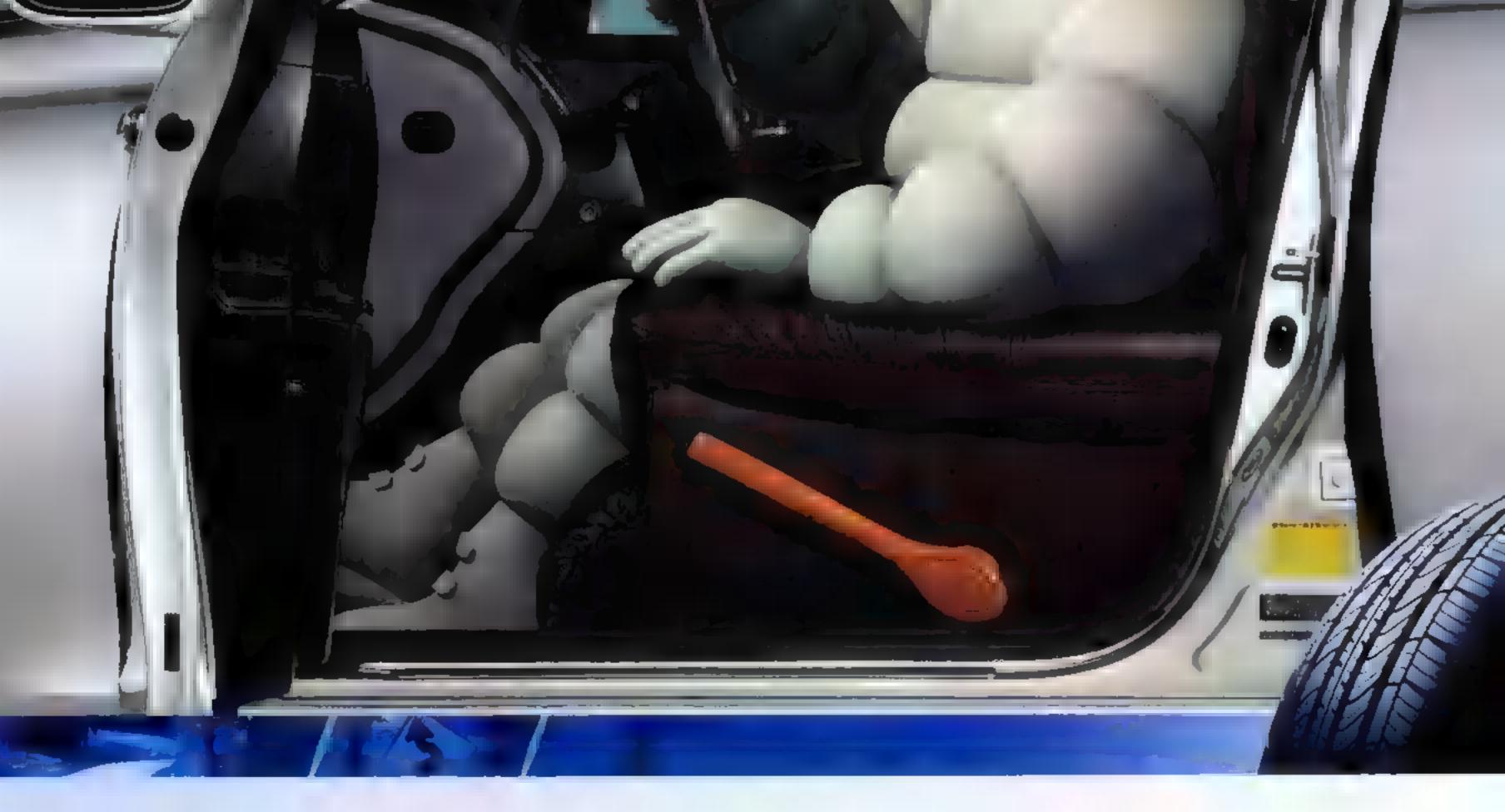
a way, I have to thank him.

MONICA HANNAN Bismarck, North Dakota

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LETTERS

The photos of the abandoned farmhouses on the desolate North Dakota prairie were reminder of how quickly we forget the hardships our ancestors endured when they first settled in this country. My father left the state as a young man in the 1950s, though his parents stayed until their deaths. His childhood memories of farm life and 12-foot snowdrifts will live on through his stories to his grandchildren, perhaps the same as he remembers the brave tales of his own German grandfather who escaped the Russian army in the late 1800s and then went on to homestead in the vast and rocky North Dakota plain. Thank you for rekindling the stories of my own ancestry.

It's unsurprising that the folks most angry about this article are people who live in North Dakota. For those who live there, it's difficult to understand why folks from elsewhere focus primarily on the emptiness. As someone who is proud to have grown up there, but who lives far, far away, I'm somewhat less defensive. And I don't think that the haunting loneliness described in the article is off base. Every time I go home and visit my grandma in Foxholm or family in Langdon or Bottineau, or drive the road from Minot to Bismarck, I'm struck by the vastness of the place and my smallness within it.

DAVID NETT North Hollywood, California

ghost towns featured in your article. As agricultural units have expanded and machinery has improved, families have become smaller, and there are far fewer of them. Fewer families mean fewer schools, fewer stores, and fewer of everything. The decline in our population has zero to do with harsh conditions or suicide.

SCOTT D. HANSON Dickinson, North Dakota

High-Tech Trash

The Japanese have a recycle rate of 98 percent for paper and 96 percent for glass. How are these rates achieved? Based on my three years spent in Odawara, Japan, this reflects detailed recycling rules established by the municipal authorities coupled with a population

KAMI HINGER AUSTIN Chandler, Arizona For six years I have lived in the midst of all those North Dakota





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that follows such rules without exception. The homeowner sorts items into eight distinct categories prior to collection. Since the day and frequency of collection is specific for each category, residents keep color-coded calendar in the kitchen. There is a ninth category for large items such as bicycles, televisions, etc. In Odawara these are collected from home upon payment of special fee. In some other areas there are locations where large items can be deposited. While the Japanese are averse to secondhand items, the resultant mini-mountains of consumer products always attract foreigners in search

It would be nice to build here at home more "Davids" [recyling machines] and help stem the outgoing flow of electronic debris. But then I look at the photograph of 11-year-old Salman Aziz on page 81 and wonder, when his supply of old computer mice disappears, where he will go for his next bit of small change and what he will do for his next meal.

BILL STELTZER West Grove, Pennsylvania

Throughout the entire year cardboard seems to be the highest volume material in my household waste stream. Recycling is good, but not everyone participates, and the landfills are filling up. When will one of the big retailers force their suppliers to develop a system of reusable containers that customers can use to bring their household goods home, and then return to the store or other collection point for ■ deposit? Far less packing material would be used, buried, wasted, and a cottage industry would spring up to guarantee that containers were returned and deposits collected.

BRIAN SMITH Mount Airy, Maryland

Corrections, Clarifications

January 2008: Ice Warriors

of bargains.

ROBERT J. NASH Webster, New York The correct elevation of Annapurna is 26,502 feet.



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LETTERS

The cost of proper disposition of products containing hazardous components is supposedly prohibitive within the U.S. Why? Because consumers have not been enlightened to become responsible stewards of the products they choose. How many people know that a musical greeting card has a battery that is hazardous to the environment? Or that their TV or computer contains lead or mercury? Aside from the U.S. halting exports of toxic scrap, engagement of consumers can have an enormous impact.

> LAUREN S. ROMAN Budd Lake, New Jersey

The recycling effort needs to involve more than the consumer and the government. It needs to involve those who sell (and

profit) from those products that can be recycled. For example, the manufacturers of bottles and cans, the producers of what's sold inside them, and the grocery stores that distribute them must take a greater economic role in the process of recycling. The voluntary "blue bag at the curb" approach is a good start, but it relies primarily on the altruism of the consumer. When all parties have an economic incentive to participate, recycling will make a much larger contribution toward preserving the environment.

> JOE BIALEK Cleveland, Ohio

One thing that cannot be ignored is the part played by electronics producers. In China the cost of repairs for

electronics like mobile phones, MP3 players, etc., is considerably high. Customers may be charged a fee merely for the opening of a broken electronic before the repair phase actually gets started. Plus, it is very likely that the needed spare parts may already be out of production. In this case customers have very few choices but to give up their poor broken gadgets and bring new ones home. In this way lots of electronics end up deep in the old cabinets, then on to landfills. I suppose this is due to the strategy of most electronics companies: update their products and prices faster. However, this is certainly not a wise idea for the sake of

resource and energy saving.

MENG SI Beljing, China



The Gods Must Be Restless

Your story about the volcanoes in Indonesia brought back memories of my youth on Java and Sumatra. Andrew Marshall's writing shows that he understands the Indonesian mind and soul. What he wrote about the volcano gods and other mythical beliefs, I have personally seen and experienced. Mount Merapi was virtually in our backyard, and its smoking crest was visible almost every day. It was a beautiful sight indeed.

ARNOLD W. TELDERS Salem, Oregon

In the Presence of Giants

What a captivating story of Kingo the gorilla and his family! I felt as if I were right there sitting with them. This article reminds us that they are part of our patrimony and we have to know them better and protect them. I hope this story helps in conservation efforts and funding for the Mondika Research Center. We should be their first line of defense. Are we?

> HECTOR E. RIVERA San Juan, Puerto Rico

Health: Quit It

Cancer of the lung was found in an x-ray of my shoulder after an accidental fall. It was small oat cell cancer, which is usually due to smoking. I had smoked heavily over 35 years. The cancer's location indicated that it was too late for chemotherapy. The doctor decided to remove two-thirds of my left lung and five lymph nodes. Because of a wonderful support system, I was able to quit smoking in three months doing it cold turkey. I was addicted to it and still miss the arm movement, but I am still alive with no more signs of cancer.

BEVERLY HORNER Wichita, Kansas

This article brings home our worldwide dilemma regarding nicotine addiction and its disastrous consequences. Can anyone deny that by licensing the manufacture of tobacco products, governments are telling the people that greed for taxation income is more important by far than the health of the people—the very ones they pretend to protect with "no smoking" laws?

> CLAUDETTE CHADSEY Lethbridge, Alberta

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Your China Thousands responded to our call for photographs of Chinese people, places, and culture for this month's Your Shot page. Most were subscribers to our new Your Shot email newsletter, which features links to our Daily Dozen reader photos, the voting machine, and online jigsaw puzzles made from Your Shot selections—possibly even your own. Sign up for the newsletter at *ngm.com/yourshot*.



Thor Santisiri Bangkok, Thailand "The horses just came out of nowhere," says Thor Santisiri, who is creative director of an ad agency when not dodging flying hooves. He watched the traditional Tibetan racing competition in Litang, China.

Jos Vaught Portland, Oregon

Last summer marked student Jos Vaught's first visit to China. He saw this woman in Beijing on a day "so hot even tourists



seemed to lose their enthusiasm for movement."

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Aaron Thompson Wuxi, China

At a market in the Guizhou Province village of Shidong, Aaron Thompson, who teaches fifth grade at the American International School of Wuxi, snapped I bag of live ducks packaged for easy transport.

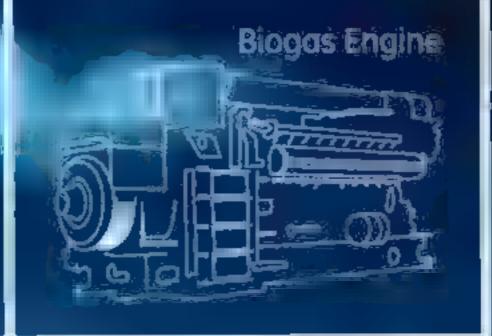
Disen Huang Jilin, China

Before buying firecrackers for the local Spring Festival, 17-year-old Disen Huang took this picture of a vendor and his explosive wares. "The ban on firecrackers is lifted for about 16 days every year," explains Disen's father, Wei. "We still enjoy this tradition, which is hundreds of years old."



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Chun Sing Johnson Cheung Hong Kong, China

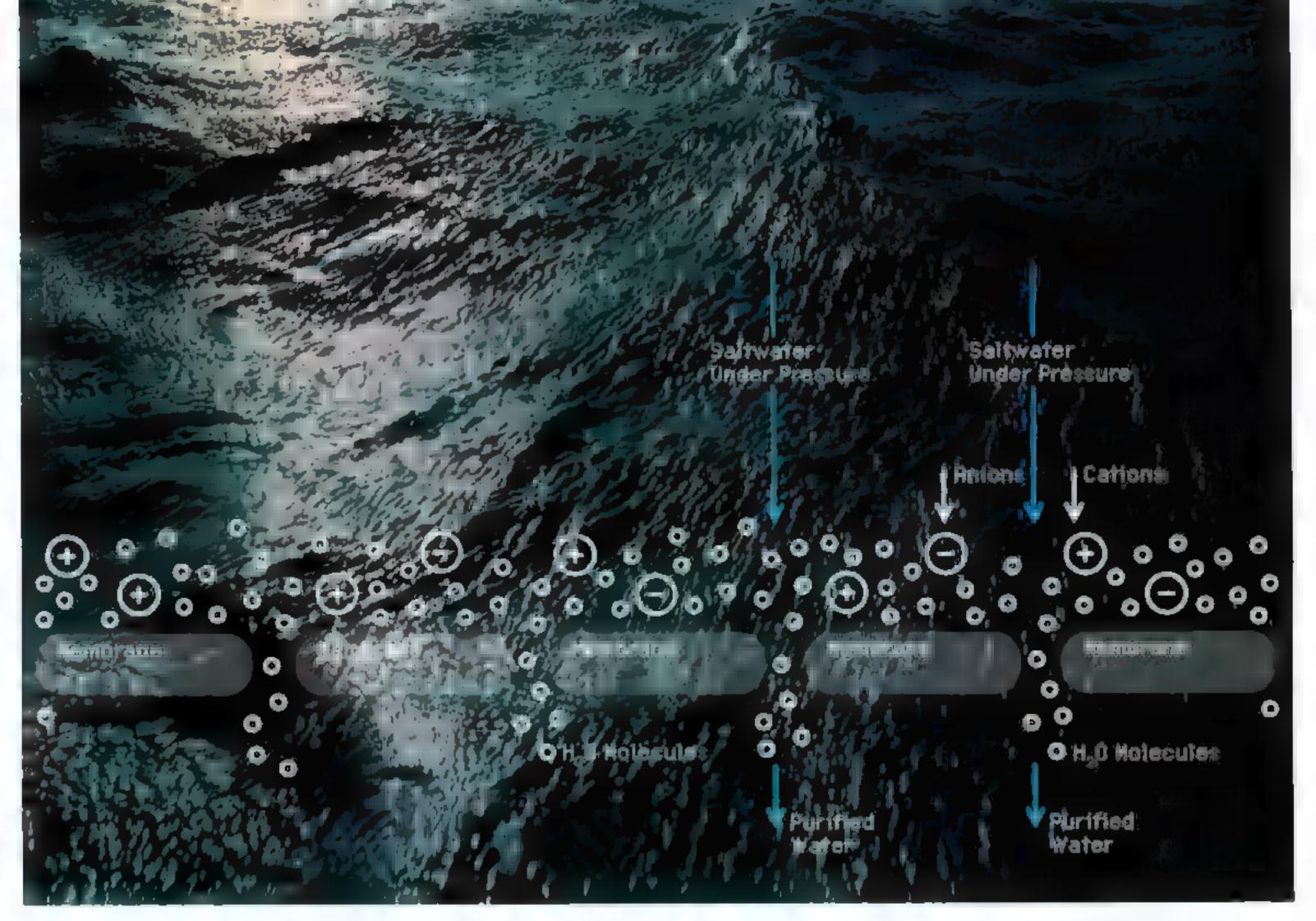
A girl with flowers caught the eye of Chun Sing Johnson Cheung in rural Jiaju, Sichuan. "I

work with young people every day," says the Hong Kong social worker. "Unlike kids from the 'modern world,' these village boys and girls are not obsessed with junk food or fancy toys."

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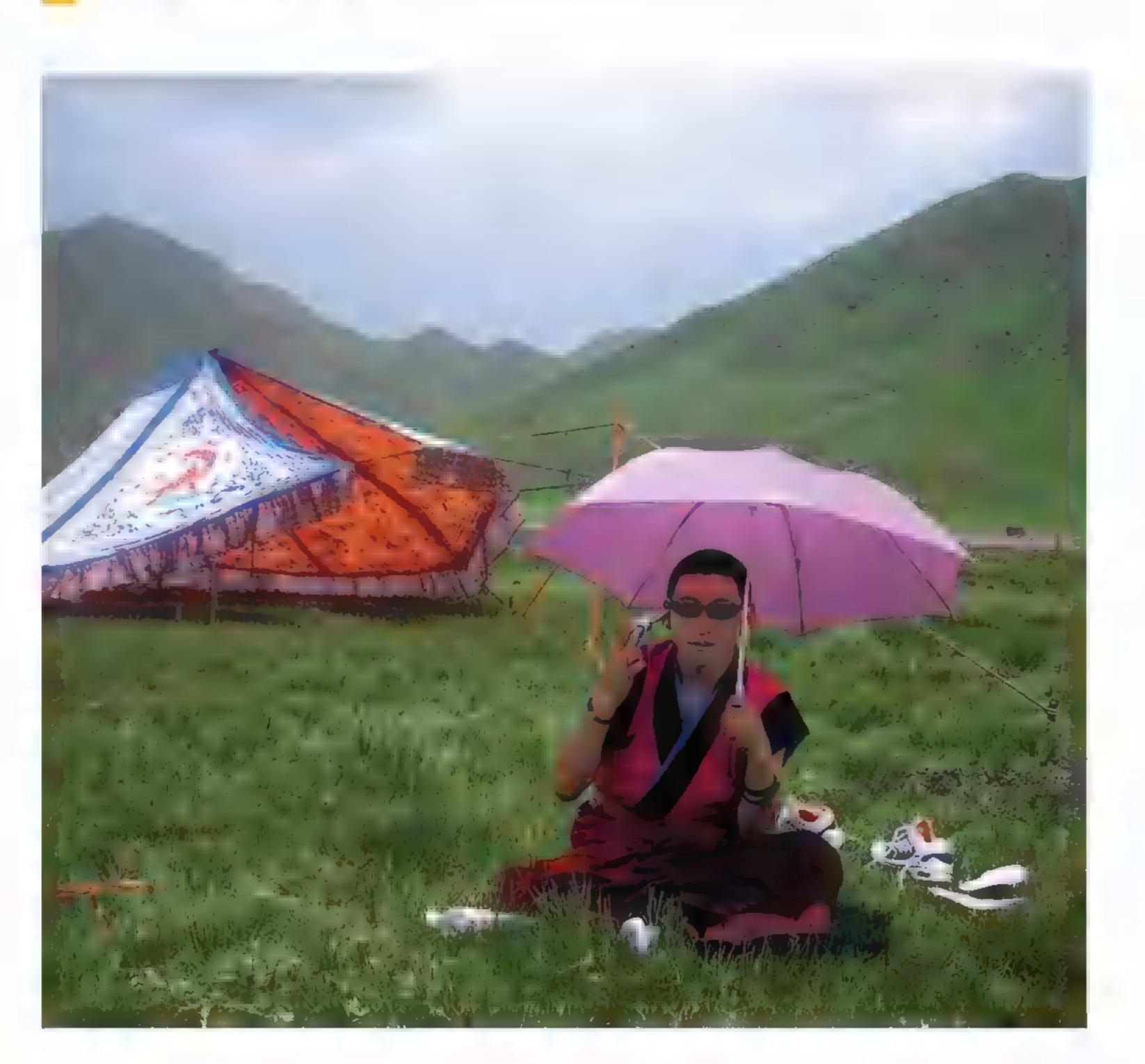








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Jeffrey Litsey Indianapolis, Indiana "The other monks called this monk the 'scientist' because he was always on his cell phone or tinkering with electronics," says Jeffrey Litsey, 24, who snapped this photo on a university trip to China's Gansu Province.

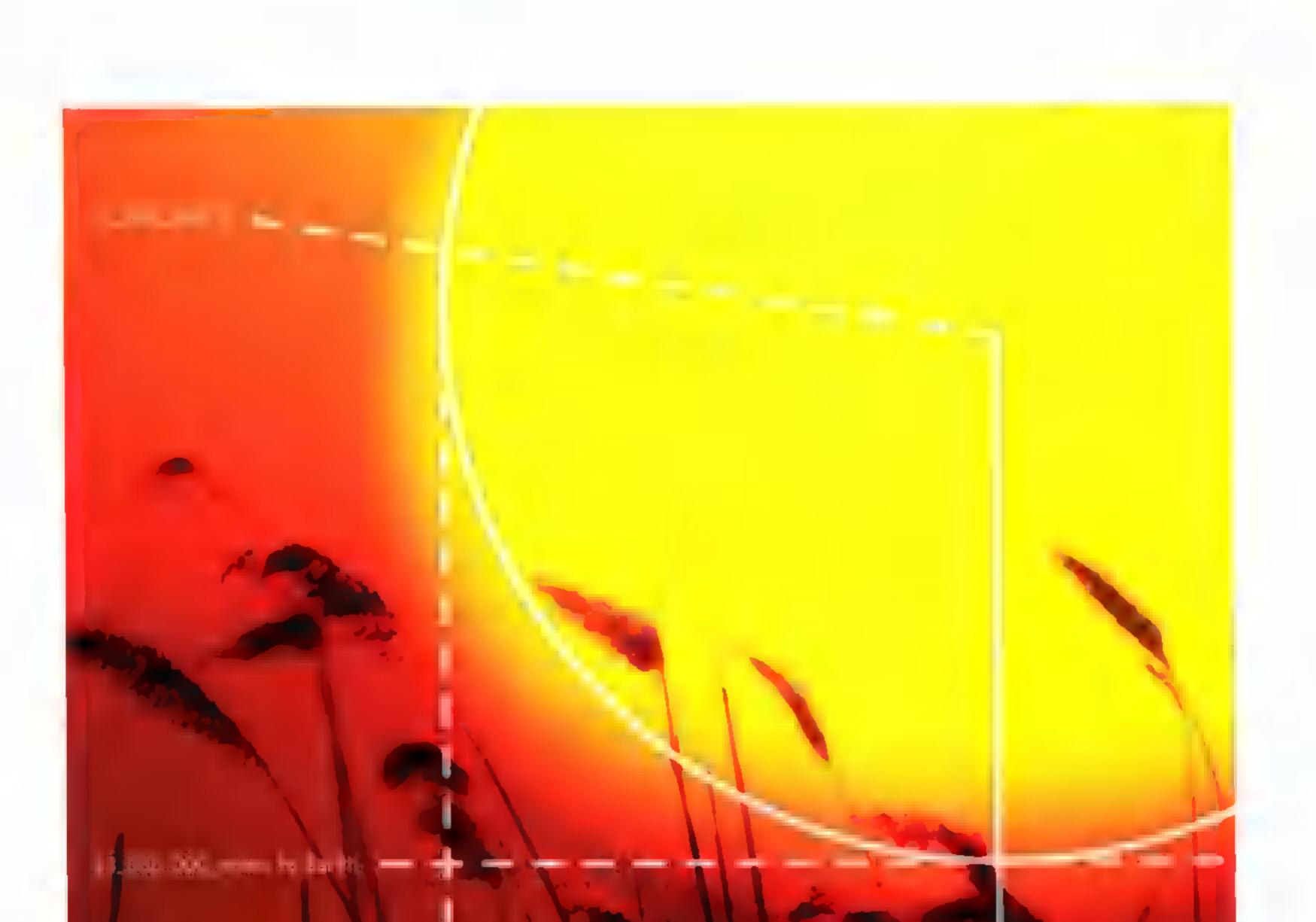
Ricardo Garza Marcos Monterrey, Mexico

Snacks at Beijing food stand didn't tempt Ricardo Garza Marcos, a 28-year-old architect. "The salesperson took stick, grabbed a live scorpion,



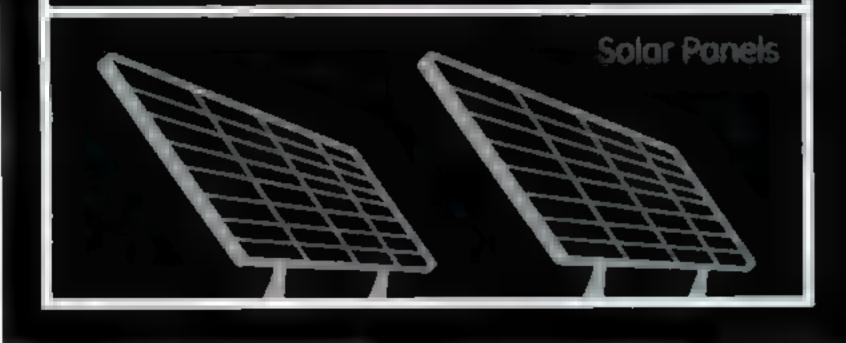
plunged it in boiling oil for five seconds,

and ate it in just one bite."



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Kathleen Nevin Nenagh, Ireland

Traditional fishermen in Dali, Yunnan, train cormorants to do their work for them. "The string tied around

the neck prevents it from swallowing any but the smallest fish," explains Kathleen Nevin, who shot this while on holiday. "The fisherman takes the catch from the bird's throat and puts it on his own table."



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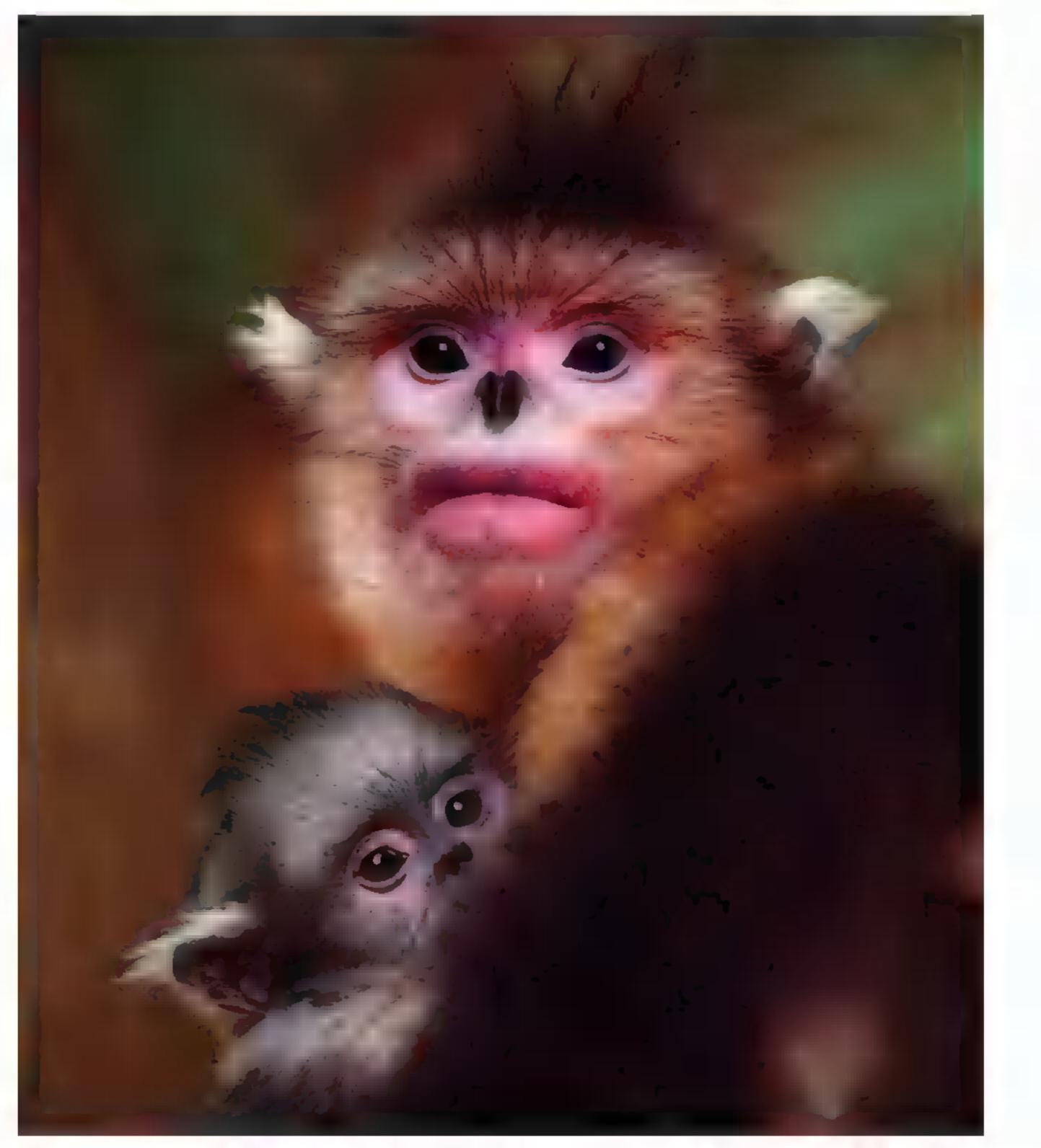
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PHOTO JOURNAL XIZHINONG



A Yunnan snub-nosed monkey hugs her baby. This is a captive pair; some 2,000 survive in the wild.

Xi Zhinong founded Wild China Film, China's first photo agency specializing in wildlife and the environment. **Monkeys Shine** in 1995, while working for the Yunnan forestry department, photographer Xi Zhinong learned of plans to log the forest habitat of the endangered Yunnan snub-nosed monkey. He thought the public should know. Petitions were sent to national leaders, media responded, and college students camped in the monkeys' forest to draw publicity. During what was one of China's first grassroots conservation campaigns, people across the country saw Xi's photo of this pair (above) and made clear their support. Eventually the logging was stopped; the

habitat was saved. Xi was let go from that forestry job. But he gained a whole new career-he's now China's preeminent wildlife photographer.

14 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC • MAY 2008

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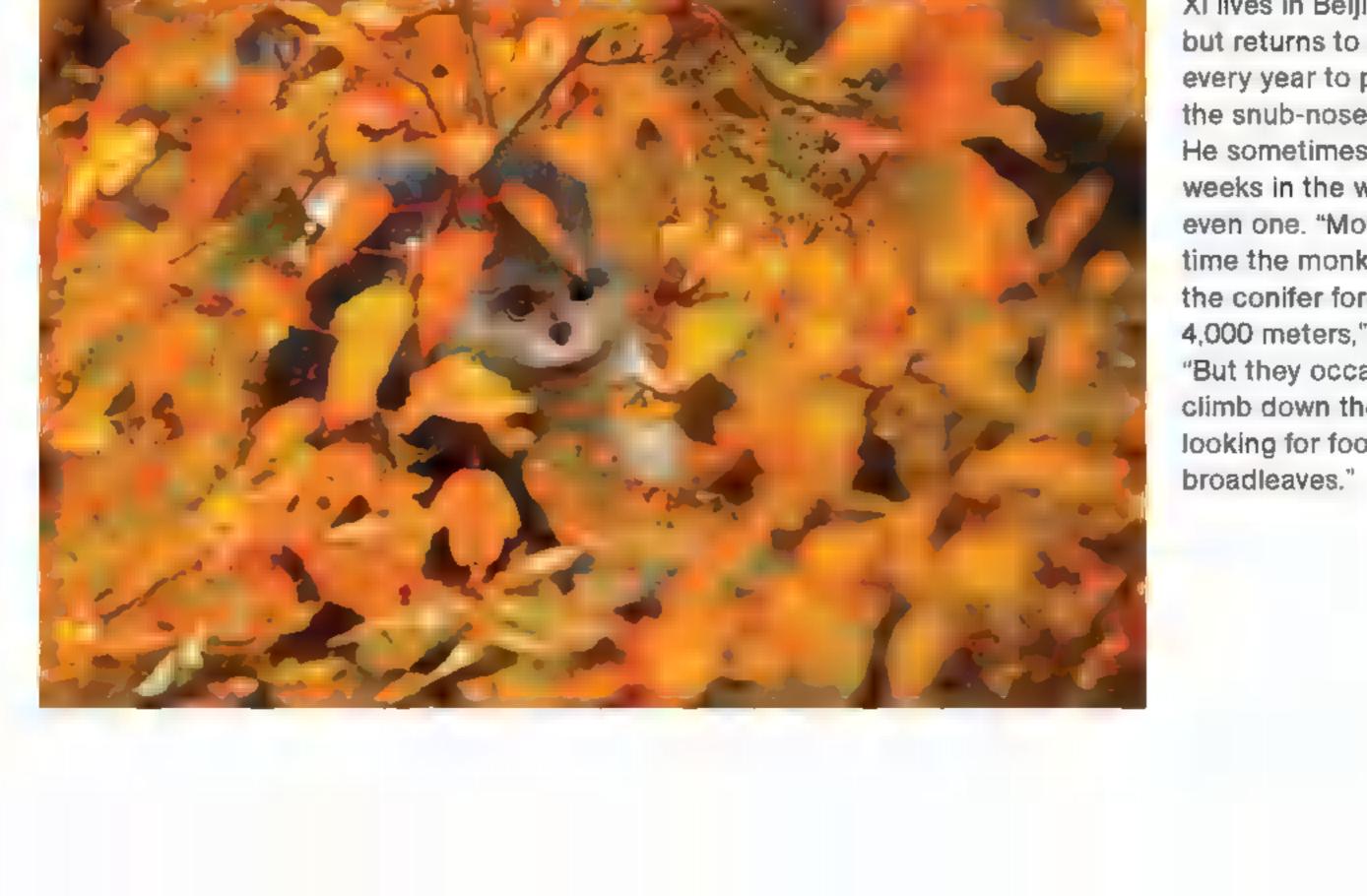
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PHOTO JOURNAL | XIZHINONG



China is home to three snub-nosed monkey species; Xi Zhinong has photographed them all. This golden snubnosed monkey lives in the high, cold forests of Shaanxi Province's Qinling Mountains. "I found out these monkeys have highways of their own," he says. "They always jump from one tree to another at the same spot."



Xi lives in Beijing now, but returns to Yunnan every year to photograph the snub-nosed monkeys. He sometimes waits for weeks in the wild to see even one. "Most of the time the monkeys live in the conifer forest above 4,000 meters," says Xi. "But they occasionally climb down the mountain looking for food in the





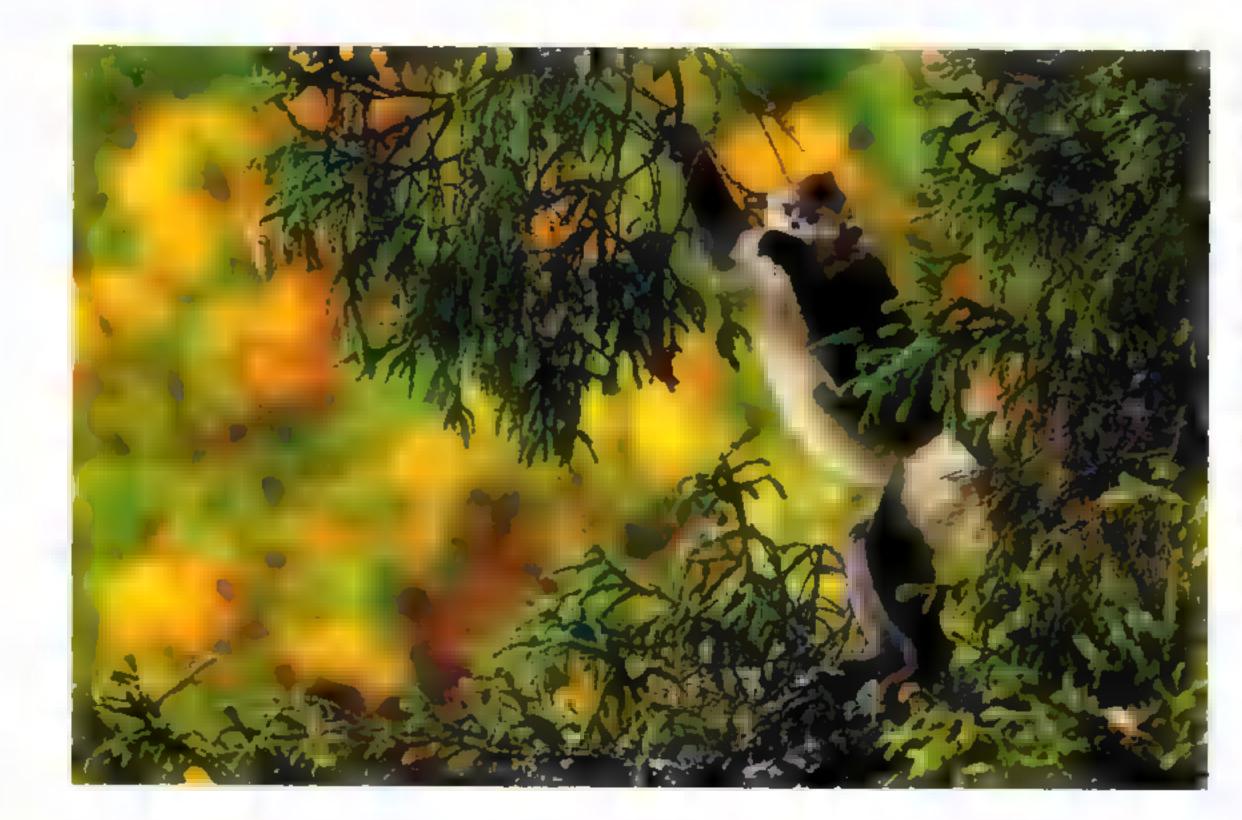
Defy the familiar

We invite you to explore. To see new things, and old things, in a new way. To stand at the rail of the ship and greet each new port of call; to try something every day that surprises you; to find the time to (1) absolutely nothing. We invite you to find inspiration and beauty, along with the unexpected, every turn. We invite you, and we are at your service. Call your Travel Professional or 1-877-SAIL HAL, or visit www.hollandamerica.com.





PHOTO JOURNAL XIZHINONG



Lichens stripped from the bark of spruce and fir trees are the main food source for the Yunnan snub-nosed monkey. Rare and rarely seen, it was thought extinct well into the 1960s. Now, more than a decade after Xi Zhinong's campaign, efforts to protect its habitat continue, though the species remains endangered.





Golden snub-nosed monkeys huddle for warmth; deep snow and bitterly cold temperatures are common across their range in winter. The golden monkeys live in Sichuan, Gansu, Hubei, and Shaanxi Provinces, often overlapping with the giant panda's habitat.

There's relief for pain like this. Ask your doctor about Lyrica.





Do you feel burning pain in your feet? Or tingling, numbness, stabbing or shooting sensations? If so, you may have painful neuropathy, also known as nerve pain. This type of pain is different from musculoskeletal (muscle or joint) pain, and may need a different type of treatment. Only Lyrica (pronounced LEER-i-kah) is FDA-approved to treat two of the most common types of nerve pain, Diabetic Nerve Pain and Pain after Shingles. Lyrica is specially designed to provide the relief you need. It works on the nerves that cause this pain. So you can start to think about other things besides your pain. Ask your doctor if Lyrica can help. Lyrica is one of several treatment options for you and your doctor to consider.

Prescription Lyrica is not for everyone. Tell your doctor right away about any serious allergic reaction that causes swelling of the face, mouth, lips, gums, tongue or neck or affects your breathing or your skin. Also tell your doctor about any changes in your eyesight, including blurry vision, muscle pain along with a fever or tired feeling, skin sores due to diabetes or if you are planning to father a child. Some of the most common side effects of Lyrica are dizziness and sleepiness. Others are weight gain, blurry vision, dry mouth, feeling "high," swelling of hands and feet and trouble concentrating. You may have a higher chance of swelling, hives or gaining weight if you are also taking certain diabetes or high blood pressure medicines. Do not drive or operate machinery until you know how Lyrica affects you. Do not drink alcohol while taking Lyrica. Be especially careful about medicines that make you sleepy. If you have had a drug or alcohol problem, you may be more likely to misuse Lyrica. Talk with your doctor before you stop taking Lyrica or any other prescription medication.

Please see important patient information on adjacent pages.

To learn more visit www.lyrica.com or call toll-free 1-888-9-LYRICA (1-888-959-7422). You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.FDA.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

PATIENT INFORMATION

Lyrica[®] (pregabalin) Capsules © (LEER-i-kah)

Read the Patient Information that comes with LYRICA before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your condition or treatment. If you have any questions about LYRICA, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?

- 1. LYRICA may cause serious allergic reactions.
 - Call your doctor right away if you think you have any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction:
 - swelling of the face, mouth, lips, gums, tongue or neck
 - have any trouble breathing
 - Other allergic reactions may include rash, hives and blisters.
- 2. LYRICA may cause dizziness and sleepiness.
 - Do not drive a car, work with machines, or do other dangerous activities until you know how LYRICA affects how alert you are. Ask your doctor when it is okay to do these activities.
- 3. LYRICA may cause problems with your eyesight, including blurry vision. Call your doctor if you have any changes in your. eyesight.

LYRICA can lower the number of seizures for people who are already taking seizure medicine.

Fibromyalgia

Fibromyalgia is a condition which includes widespread muscle pain and difficulty performing daily activities. LYRICA can help relieve the pain and improve function. Some people taking LYRICA had less pain by the end of the first week of LYRICA therapy. LYRICA may not work for everyone.

Who Should Not Take LYRICA?

Do not take LYRICA if you are allergic to any of its ingredients. The active ingredient is pregabalin. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients in LYRICA.

What should I tell my doctor before taking LYRICA? Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions, including if you:

- have any kidney problems or get kidney dialysis
- have heart problems including heart failure
- have a bleeding problem or a low blood platelet. count
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if LYRICA may harm your unborn baby. You and your doctor will have to decide if LYRICA is right for you while you are pregnant. are breastfeeding. It is not known if LYRICA. passes into breast milk and if it can harm your baby. You and your doctor should decide whether you should take LYRICA or breastfeed, but not both.

What is LYRICA?

LYRICA is a prescription medicine used in adults, 18 years and older, to treat:

- pain from damaged nerves (neuropathic pain) that happens with diabetes
- pain from damaged nerves (neuropathic pain) that follows healing of shingles (a painful rash that comes after a herpes zoster infection)
- partial seizures when taken together with other seizure medicines
- fibromyalgia

LYRICA has not been studied in children under 18 years of age.

Pain from Damaged Nerves (neuropathic pain)

Diabetes and shingles can damage your nerves. Pain from damaged nerves may feel sharp, burning, tingling, shooting, or numb. If you have diabetes, the pain can be in your arms, hands, fingers, legs, feet, or toes. If you have shingles, the pain is in the area of your rash. You may experience this kind of pain even with a very light touch. LYRICA can help relieve the pain. Some people taking LYRICA had less pain by the end of the first week of LYRICA therapy. LYRICA may not work for everyone.

Partial Seizures

Partial seizures start in one part of the brain. A seizure can make you fearful, confused, or just feel "funny". You may smell strange smells. A seizure may cause your arm or leg to jerk or shake. It can spread to other parts of your brain, make you pass out, and cause your whole body to start jerking.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription or non-prescription medicines, vitamins or herbal supplements. LYRICA and other medicines may affect each other. Especially tell your doctor if you take:

- angiotensin converting enzyme (ACE) inhibitors. You may have a higher chance for swelling and hives if these medicines are taken with LYRICA. See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- Avandia[®] (rosiglitazone) or Actos[®] (pioglitazone) for diabetes. You may have a higher chance of weight gain or swelling if these medicines are taken with LYRICA. See "What are the possible side effects of LYRICA."
- any narcotic pain medicine (such as oxycodone), tranguilizers or medicines for anxiety (such as lorazepam). You may have a higher chance for dizziness and sleepiness if these medicines are taken with LYRICA. See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- any medicines that make you sleepy

Know all the medicines you take. Keep a list of them with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

Tell your doctor I you plan to father a child. Animal studies showed that pregabalin, the active ingredient in LYRICA, made male animals less fertile and caused sperm abnormalities. Also, in animal studies, birth defects occurred in the offspring of male animals who

were treated with pregabalin. It is not known if these effects would happen in people.

How should I take LYRICA?

- Take LYRICA exactly as prescribed. Your doctor may adjust your dose during treatment. Do not change your dose without talking to your doctor.
- Do not stop taking LYRICA suddenly without talking to your doctor. If you stop taking LYRICA suddenly, you may have headaches, nausea, diarrhea or trouble sleeping. Talk with your doctor about how to slowly stop LYRICA.
- LYRICA is usually taken 2 or 3 times a day, depending on your medical condition. Your doctor will tell you how much LYRICA to take and when to take it. Take LYRICA at the same times each day.
- · LYRICA may be taken with or without food.
- If you miss a dose by a few hours, take it as soon as you remember. If it is close to your next dose, just take LYRICA at your next regular time. Do not take two doses at the same time.
- If you take too much LYRICA, call your doctor or poison control center or go to the nearest emergency room right away.

What Should I Avoid While Taking LYRICA?

Do not drive a car, work with machines, or do other dangerous activities until you know how LYRICA affects how alert you are. See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
Do not drink alcohol while taking LYRICA. LYRICA and alcohol can affect each other and increase side effects such as sleepiness and dizziness. This can be dangerous.

- weight gain
- sleepiness
- trouble concentrating
- swelling of hands and feet
- dry mouth

LYRICA caused skin sores in animals. Although skin sores were not seen in studies in people, if you have diabetes, you should pay extra attention to your skin while taking LYRICA and tell your doctor of any sores or skin problems.

LYRICA may cause some people to feel "high." Tell your doctor, if you have abused prescription medicines, street drugs, or alcohol in the past.

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the side effects of LYRICA. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

How should I store LYRICA?

- Store LYRICA at room temperature, 59 to 86° F (15 to 30° C) in its original package.
- Safely throw away LYRICA that is out of date or no longer needed.
- Keep LYRICA and all medicines out of the reach of children.

General information about LYRICA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions other than those listed in patient information leaflets. Do not use LYRICA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give LYRICA to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

Do not take other medicines without talking to your doctor. Other medicines include prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. LYRICA and other medicines may affect each other and increase the side effects of swelling, sleepiness and dizziness. Be especially careful about medicines that make you sleepy (such as sleeping pills, anxiety medicines, tranquilizers and some antihistamines, pain relievers and seizure medicines).

What are the possible side effects of LYRICA? LYRICA may cause side effects including:

- allergic reactions. See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- weight gain and swelling of the hands and feet (edema). Weight gain may affect the management of diabetes. Weight gain and swelling can also be a serious problem for people with heart problems.
- dizziness and sleepiness. See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- eyesight problems. See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- unexplained muscle problems, such as muscle pain, soreness, or weakness. If you develop these symptoms, especially if you also feel sick and have a fever, tell your doctor right away.

This leaflet summarizes the most important information about LYRICA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about LYRICA that is written for health professionals.

You can also visit the LYRICA website at www.LYRICA.com or call 1-866-4LYRICA.

What are the ingredients In LYRICA? Active ingredient: pregabalin

Inactive ingredients: lactose monohydrate, cornstarch, talc;

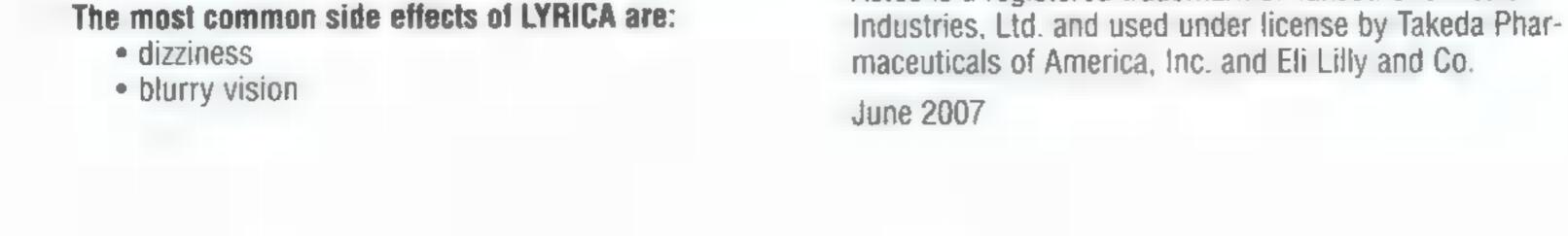
Capsule shell: gelatin and titanium dioxide; Orange capsule shell: red iron oxide; White capsule shell: sodium lauryl sulfate, colloidal silicon dioxide. Colloidal silicon dioxide is a manufacturing aid that may or may not be present in the capsule shells.

Imprinting ink: shellac, black iron oxide, propylene glycol, potassium hydroxide.

Manufactured by: Pfizer Pharmaceuticals LLC Vega Baja, PR 00694

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VISIONS OF EARTH



Yunnan Blooming rapeseed plants weave around hills near Luoping. China grows more of the crop—some 14 million tons in 2006—than any other country; officials hope
biodiesel boom will increase demand even more.

PHOTO: GEORGE STEINMETZ



Yunnan The Songzanlin Monastery overlooks the town known until 2001 as Zhongdian, but renamed-to attract more visitors-Shangri-La. Tourists, largely from within China, bring billions of dollars to Yunnan every year.



PHOTO: GEORGE STEINMETZ



Xinjiang A column of dunes could provide geologic data for sand-sampling scientists, whose trucks scratch tracks across the wind-scoured Kumtag Desert.



Reserver Visions of Earth images at visionsofearth.ngm.com.

PHOTO: GEORGE STEINMETZ





climate Crisis

It's too big for one person to solve. It's going to take all of us, working together. The good news is, the solutions already exist. But the only way we're going to get them is by sending a powerful message to our corporations and our government. More than a million people, from all walks of life and across the political spectrum, have already come together to make their voices heard. Now we need you. Take one minute to join us at wecansolveit.org. Because you can't solve the climate crisis on your own.



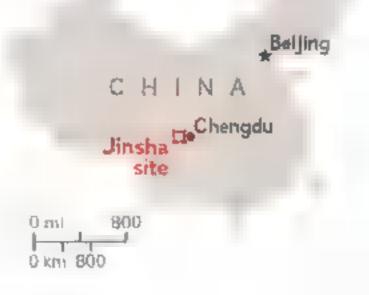
ARCHAEOLOGY



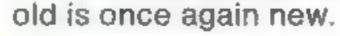
City Digs China's future is bright. So is its past. Nowhere is the link more evident than in big cities, where bulldozers are clearing the way for skyscrapers and digging up ancient sites in the process. In 2001 workers in Jinsha, ■ suburb of the fast-growing city of Chengdu, stumbled upon a treasure trove: thousands of relics—from gold headwear and jewelry to elephant tusks used in religious rituals –dating back 3,000 years to the Shu kingdom. Beijing's Olympic sites have also yielded major finds, including hundreds of tombs and artifacts. The oldest are from the Han dynasty, some 2,000 years ago. But the rush to modernize can come with a hefty historical price



tag. Construction crews, failing to notify experts, have illegally destroyed sites; looting is a constant problem. That may be changing. Archaeology is a growing discipline in China, and Jinsha has opened a state-financed museum to display the bounty. Meaning what's



A gold mask (top) and a grave chamber (left) are among the big finds in Jinsha.



-Shamus Sillar

PHOTOS, AP IMAGES/XINHUA (TOP); LIU JIN, AFP/GETTY IMAGES, NGM MAPS

AARP: Founded on the simple premise that no one should have to live in a chicken coop.

In 1947 on a meager pension, it was all one retired teacher could afford.

That's when Dr. Ethel Percy Andrus, a retired high school principal, made a shocking discovery. On a visit to a former teacher, she found the woman living in an old chicken coop, in poor health and unable to afford medical care.

Ethel got mad. She also got organized. After helping that first teacher, she turned her efforts to helping others with a campaign to obtain affordable health insurance for retired teachers. Over 40 companies turned her down, but she persevered and eventually succeeded. She soon discovered that many other older people needed help as well, and in 1958, she founded AARP.

championing the needs of our members and the future of every generation.

We do this by focusing on the five things every generation shares:

- The need for health
- The need for financial security
- The need for community
- The need to give back to society
- The need to enjoy life

education guides, research and a website that cover the issues our members care about most.

The AARP Foundation is the charitable arm of AARP. It provides services to both members and nonmembers — especially the most vulnerable in society. The Foundation delivers direct services such as the nation's largest free, volunteer-run tax assistance program and legal advocacy work to support the rights of older Americans across the country. working with leading businesses to identify and respond to the ever-changing needs of Americans as they age. These relationships not only help shape the marketplace, but also earn revenue that helps AARP achieve its mission of leading positive social change and delivering value to members.

When she founded AARP 50 years ago, Ethel proclaimed that "an army of useful citizens" can do what no one person can. Today we at AARP champion her dream and serve all generations through vigorous action and by never forgetting the one act of compassion that started it all.

Today as the nation's leading membership organization — with nearly 40 million members — AARP remains committed to Meeting these needs and ensuring the quality of life for all as we age is no small task. It requires a unique three-part organization.

AARP, the nonprofit parent, is a strong nonpartisan advocate for consumer rights and provides trusted information with our publications, voter Finally, AARP Services, Inc. makes available products and services designed specifically for the 50+ consumer — many of whom might otherwise be excluded from the market. AARP Services does this by

Learn more about AARP's history and our continuing mission at aarp.org/champion.





Gaming Names

Did you hear about the Chinese parents who wanted to name their baby @? That's no joke, but it was apparently a no-go with the authorities. The urge to experiment with given names is understandable in a country where 93 million people have the family name Wang. As the State Language Commission puts it: There's an "increasingly adventurous approach to Chinese, as commercialization and the Internet break down conventions." The number of bold namers is tiny, and their efforts are often nixed. Possible reasons: Unfamiliar characters are confusing or require fonts that police computers lack. No one can stop citizens from taking English nicknames, and many do: Window, Crosseye, and Morning Goo are but a few. -Shamus Sillar

新春後

Baby 1A, Meet Baby Olympics

Characters in black are common family names: Yang, Zhang, Li, and Wang. Characters in color are unconventional given names.

Ao Yun

Olympics

Yi A

Yi A means 1A (a spin on A1, meaning the very best).

---- Mo Xiang Gai

Combining Xiang Gai (want to change) and the surname Mo (none) creates a comic name: Mr. Don't-Want-to-Change.

- Ao Si Rui Na

The characters aim to sound like a foreign name: "Osrina."

- Chang'e



The name of China's moon god-

dess and its 2007 lunar orbiter.

CALLIGRAPHY CHEN HENIAN

A GREAT LUNESTA NIGHT MIGHT HELP YOU BECOME A MORNING PERSON AGAIN.



Wake up refreshed and recharged after a good night's sleep. Non-narcotic LUNESTA has helped so many who have trouble sleeping:

- Fall asleep fast
- Stay asleep

- Wake up ready to start the day LUNESTA is by prescription only. Individual results may vary.

Find out how to improve your sleep habits at lunesta.com Or call 1-800-LUNESTA



A great tomorrow starts tonight.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION:

LUNESTA helps you fall asleep quickly, so take it right before bed. Be sure you have at least eight hours to devote to sleep before becoming active. Until you know how you'll react to LUNESTA, you should not drive or operate machinery. Do not take LUNESTA with alcohol. Call your doctor right away if after taking LUNESTA you walk, drive, eat or engage in other activities while asleep. In rare cases severe allergic reactions can occur. Most sleep medicines carry some risk of dependency. Side effects may include unpleasant taste, headache, drowsiness and dizziness. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088. See important patient information on the next page.



Please read this summary of information about LUNESTA before you talk to your doctor or start using LUNESTA. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about LUNESTA tablets, be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

LUNESTA is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as difficulty in falling asleep, difficulty in maintaining sleep during the night, and waking up too early in the morning. Most people with insomnia have more than one of these problems. You should take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed because of the risk of falling.

LUNESTA belongs to a group of medicines known as "hypnotics" or, simply, sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent. It usually requires treatment for only a short time, usually 7 to 10 days up to 2 weeks. If your insomnia does not improve after 7 to 10 days of treatment, see your doctor, because it may be a sign of an underlying condition. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

Side Effects

All medicines have side effects. The most common side effects of sleep medicines are:

- Drowsiness
- Dizziness

get a full night of sleep before you need to be active again. Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems.

Tolerance

When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness in helping you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Development of tolerance to LUNESTA was not observed in a clinical study of 6 months' duration. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent, and prolonged use of sleep medicines is generally not necessary. Some people, though, have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

Dependence

Sleep medicines can cause dependence in some people, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Dependence is the need to continue taking a medicine because stopping it is unpleasant. When people develop dependence, stopping the medicine suddenly may cause unpleasant symptoms (see Withdrawal below). They may find they have to keep taking the medicine either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks. If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting LUNESTA or any sleep medicine.

Withdrawal

- Lightheadedness
- Difficulty with coordination.

Sleep medicines can make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of LUNESTA that is best for you. Some people taking LUNESTA have reported next-day sleepiness.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine. until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- Do not drink alcohol when you are taking LUNESTA or any sleep Ο. medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. • This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking LUNESTA.
- Always take the exact dose of LUNESTA prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

Special Concerns

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

Memory Problems

Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine. Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia." Memory problems have been reported rarely by patients taking LUNESTA in clinical studies. In most cases, memory problems can be avoided if you take LUNESTA only when you are able to

Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two. In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and, rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon. Although withdrawal symptoms have not been observed in the relatively limited controlled trials experience with LUNESTA, there is, nevertheless, the risk of such events in association with the use of any sleep medicine.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

Changes In Behavior And Thinking

Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- More outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal ٠
- Confusion •
- Strange behavior ÷
- Agitation e
- Hallucinations •
- Worsening of depression ψ.
- Suicidal thoughts ۰.

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used. Clinical experience with LUNESTA suggests that it is rarely associated with these behavior changes.

It is also important to realize it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, are caused by an illness, or have occurred on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

Pregnancy And Breastfeeding

Sleep medicines may cause sedation or other potential effects in the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking LUNESTA.

In addition, a very small amount of LUNESTA may be present in breast milk after use of the medication. The effects of very small amounts of LUNESTA on an infant are not known: therefore, as with all other prescription sleep medicines, it is recommended that you not take LUNESTA if you are breastfeeding a baby.

Sale Use Of Sleep Medicines

To ensure the safe and effective use of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

- LUNESTA is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take LUNESTA.
- Never use LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
- 3 If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
- 4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription and herbal preparations. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. DO NOT use alcohol while taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.

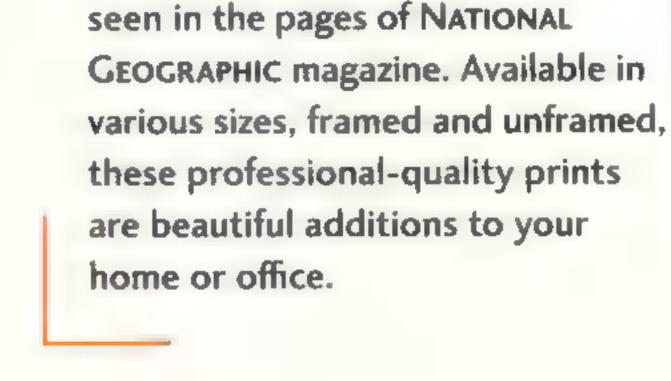
Take our photos.



- Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get 8 or more hours of sleep before you must be active again.
- Do not increase the prescribed dose of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
- 7. When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- 8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night or two after stopping any sleep medicine.
- Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, if you become pregnant, or if you are breastleeding a baby while taking LUNESTA.
- 10. As with all prescription medicines, never share LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine in the original container and out of reach of children.
- 11. Be sure to tell your doctor if you suffer from depression.
- LUNESTA works very quickly. You should only take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed.
- 13. For LUNESTA to work best, you should not take it with or immediately after a high-fat, heavy meal.
- 14. Some people, such as older adults (i.e., ages 65 and over) and people with liver disease, should start with the lower dose (1 mg) of LUNESTA. Your doctor may choose to start therapy at 2 mg. In general, adults under age 65 should in treated with 2 or 3 mg.
- 15. Each tablet is a single dose: do not crush or break the tablet.

Note: This summary provides important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist to let you read the Prescribing Information and then discuss it with him or her.

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"Where do you think the flame would like to go?" That's what relay expert John MacAloon asked China's Olympic planners after they sought his advice on a path for the torch relay. The answer: just about everywhere. Lit by the sun's rays in Greece, the 2008 flame will visit six continents and travel a variation of the Silk Road; a companion flame will head up Mount Everest, shielded from the thin air in a special miner's lantern. Several lanterns, each with a "mother flame" also lit in Greece, will accompany the relay in case the torch goes out.

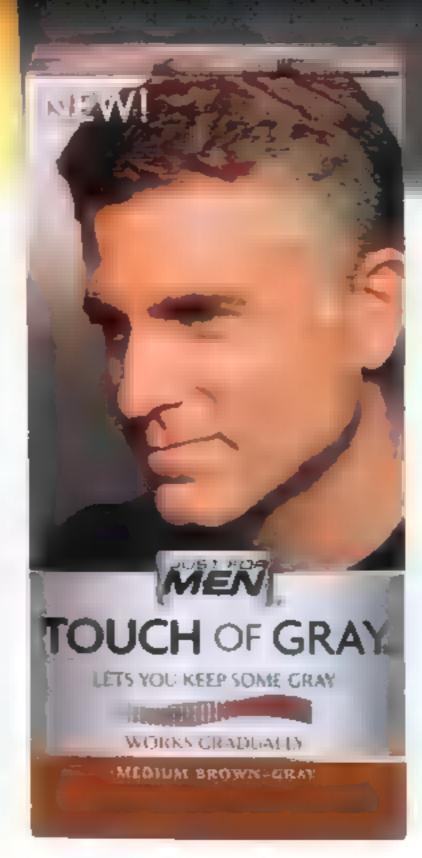
The original Olympics had no such relay (though nude torch races were run at other ancient events). Carl Diem, head of Berlin's 1936 games, invented the torch relay after seeing the flam-

ing cauldron that debuted at the 1928 Dutch Olympic stadium. "There'd be no point to a relay," says Olympic scholar Robert Barney, "if there was nothing to light at the end." -Marc Silver

NGM MAPS PHOTO: ADAM PRETTY, GETTY IMAGES

The First Hair Treatment That Lets You Keep A Little Gray.





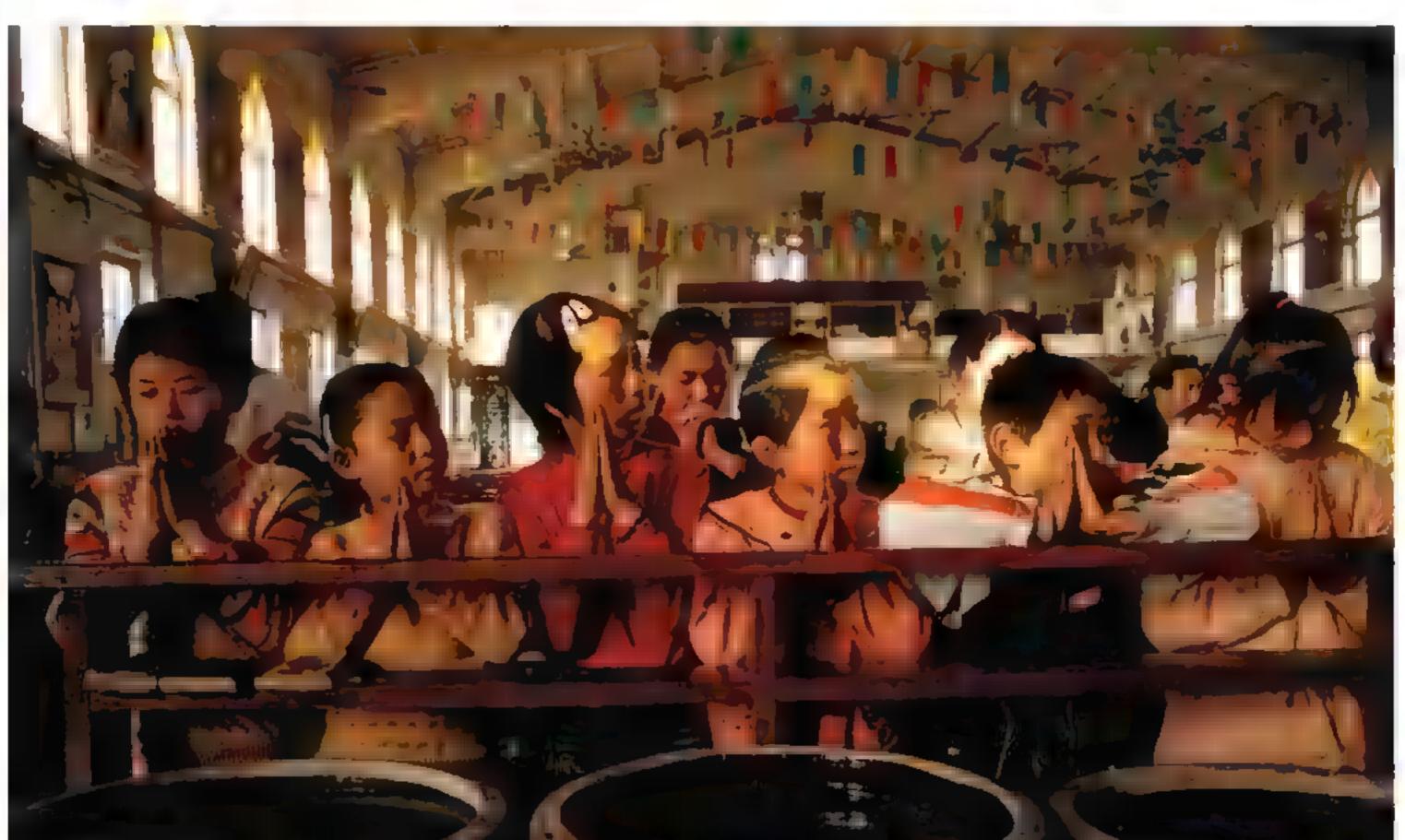
You've got a lot to give. Let it show with New Touch Of Gray[™], the only men's hair treatment that lets you



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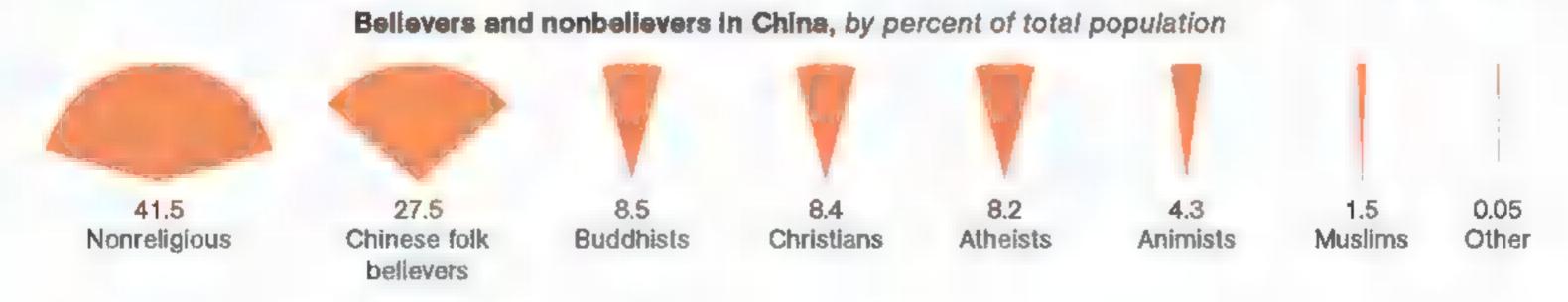






Children kneel before pots of holy water at the Catholic church in Liuhe





Zeal for Faith Shanghai's century-old St. Ignatius Cathedral comfortably seats 2,000. Even so, the four Sunday Masses are usually standing room only. The phenomenon is not unique to Shanghai. According to **a** survey completed in 2007 by East China Normal University, 31.4 percent of Chinese age 16 and above say they are religious. Of those roughly 300 million individuals, 40 million identify as Christians—and there's ample evidence the population is much larger and growing rapidly. In 1949 China's Catholic population was 3 to 4 million; today the authoritative Holy Spirit Study Centre in Hong Kong estimates it's about 12 million. The fervor for Christianity does not reflect a split with tradition. In China Western religions accept aspects of local culture, including ancestor veneration.

The spiritual surge is a sharp contrast to the heavy suppression of religion characteristic of China for much of the past 60 years. "The more the suppression, the more the rebound," says Aloysius Jin Luxian, Shanghai's 92-year-old Catholic bishop, who spent 27 years in labor camps and prisons. Many older folk are part of the revival, but the survey shows a concen-

tration among youth. Bishop Jin holds rampant materialism at least partly responsible. "Souls become ever more empty," he says, "which affords religion room to expand." - Adam Minter

PHOTO: FRITZ HOFFMANN, SOURCE: WORLD CHRISTIAN DATABASE.

PERCENTAGES ARE ROUNDED AND DO NOT TOTAL 100.



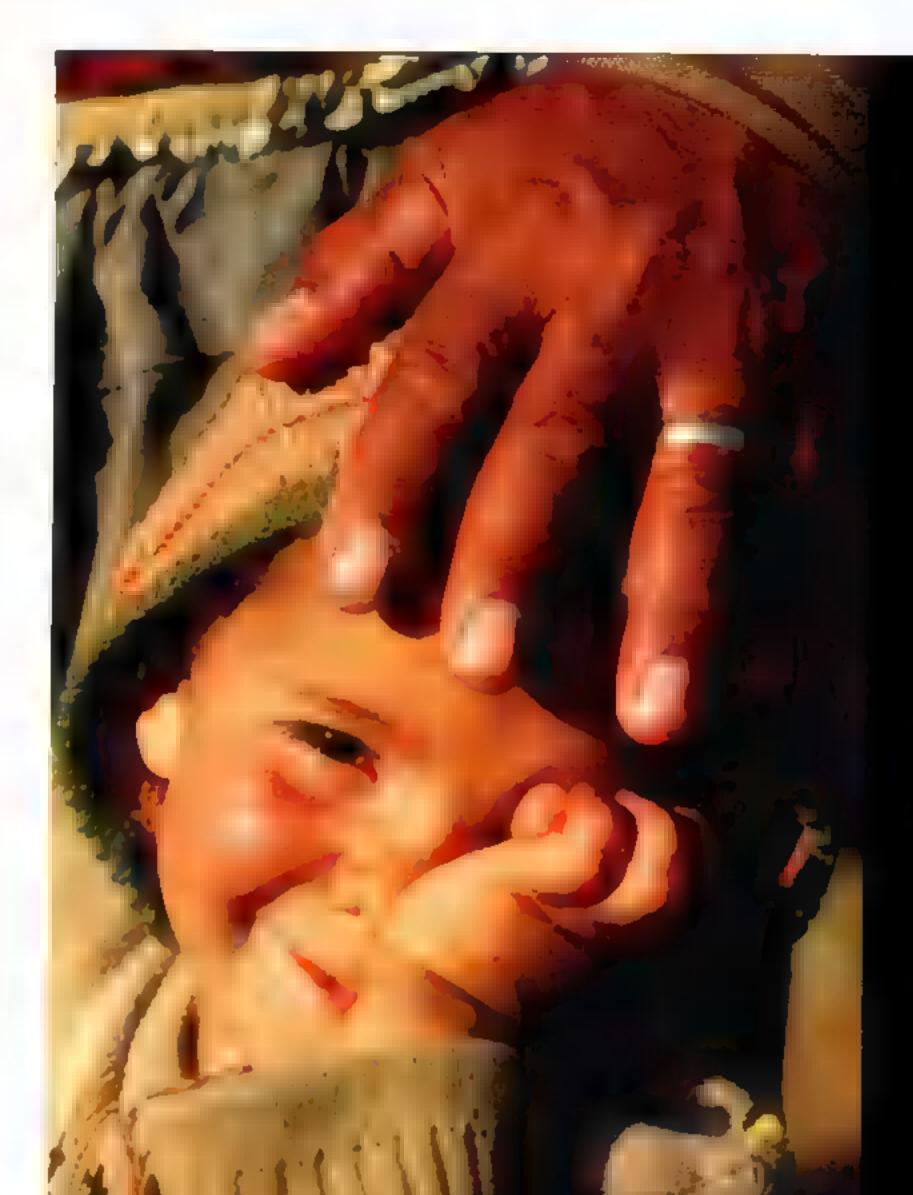


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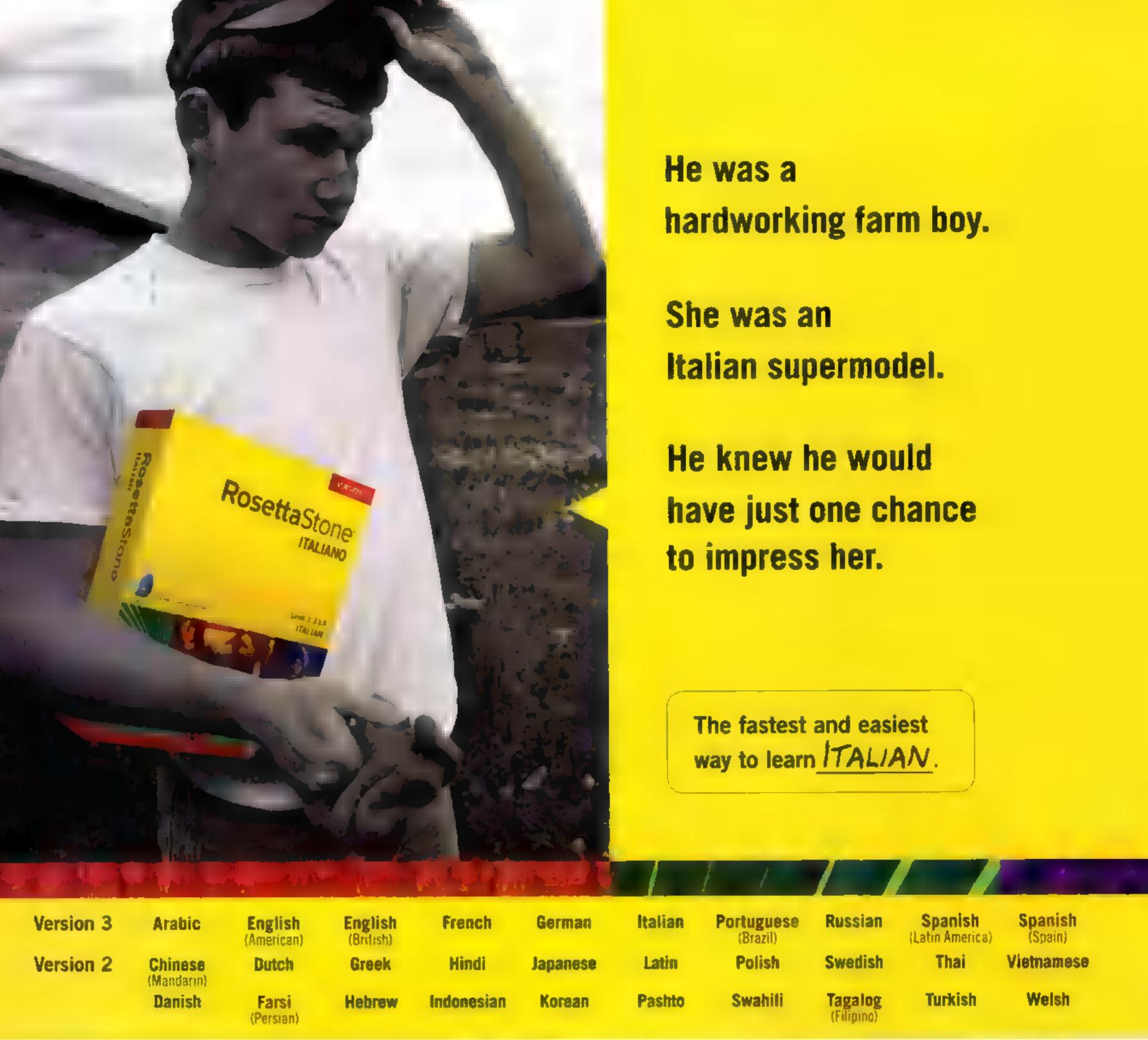
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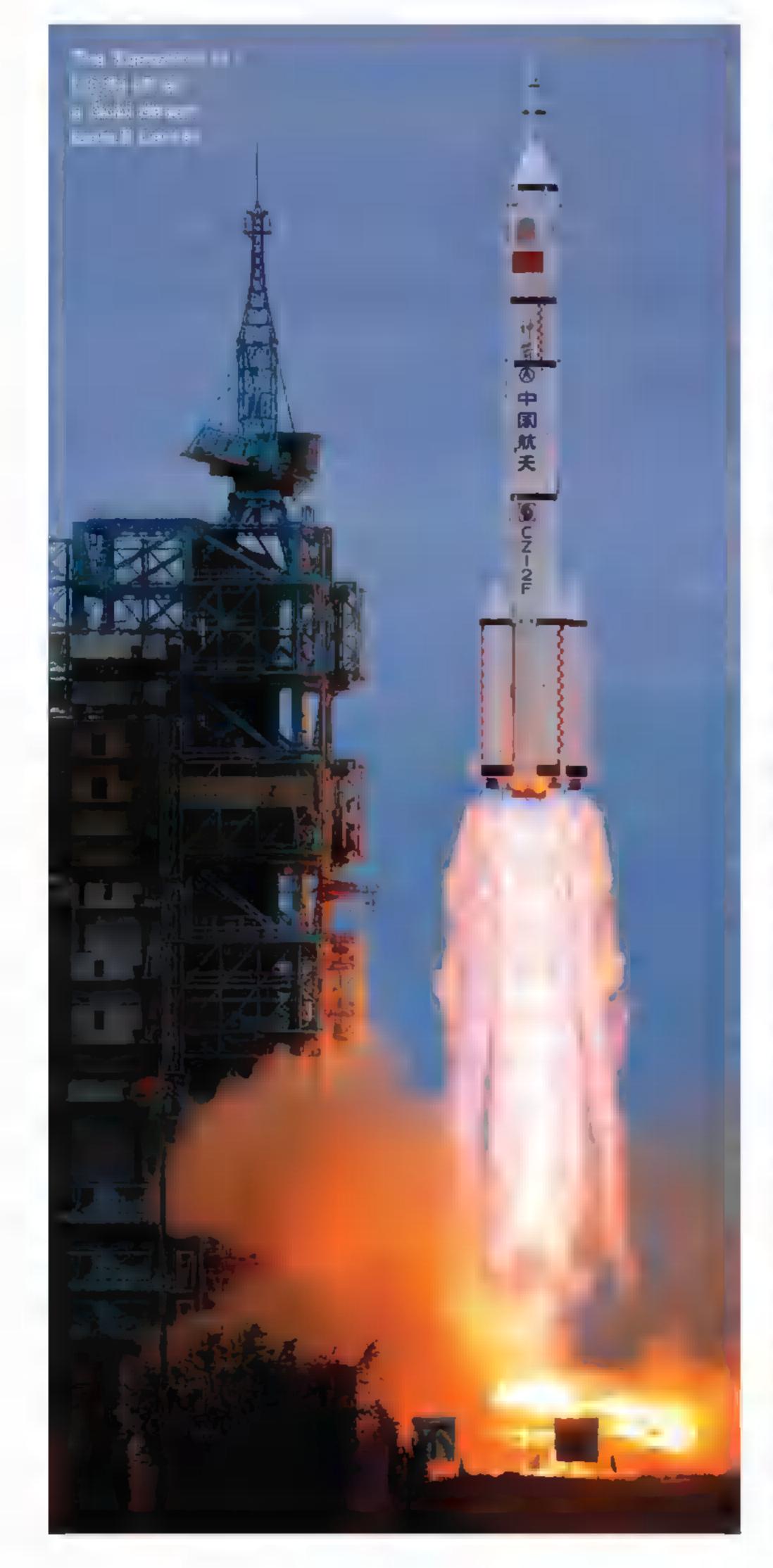


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A Place in Space

Last fall China shot for the moon, launching a lunar orbiter and rocketing forward in Asla's scramble to space. Next goals? A space walk in 2008, a moon rover by 2012, I small space station by 2020 or so. Here are key events in China's space program to date. —Jeremy Berlin

1950s Qian Xuesen is alleged to be Cold War spy and deported from the United States. Back in China, he lends his expertise to the country's fledgling rocket program (with Soviet help until 1960) and a short-lived satellite initiative.

1960s Even as China develops its first rocket—the Long March, which will later bear satellites into space—the Cultural Revolution stunts the program. Many scientists are imprisoned or killed.

1970s The Dong Fang Hong I satellite orbits Earth, making China the world's fifth spacefaring nation.

1980s Post Mao, China plays catch-up in the space race and looks to earn money by developing and launching satellites for European and other nations.

1990s Pushing to put a man in space, China trains candidates in Russia. But then comes a setback: a controversial episode in which U.S. congressional committee alleges that U.S. firms aided China's missile program. Afterward, the U.S. works to exclude China from the global commercial launch market, and to rebuff its bid to join the International Space Station.

2000s It's a banner decade so far. In 2003 China becomes the third country to put a person in space, as Yang Liwei circles Earth 14 times over 21 hours. In 2005 two "taikonauts" go on a five-day

orbital mission. In 2007 the lunar

orbiter Chang'e-1 lifts off.

PHOTO, OIN XIAN'AN, STATE SATELLITE CONTROL CENTER



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The All-New 2009 Nissan Murano

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ENVIRONMENT

Chopstick Shift A porcelain jar of red plastic chopsticks sits on each of six tables at a Shanghai dumpling café. "Long-term, it's cheaper than disposable wooden ones and produces less waste," says the owner. China makes—and tosses—a lot of chopsticks, using up hundreds of thousands of tons of bamboo, the most popular material, each year. To promote plastic chopsticks, the government has instituted **I** 5 percent tax on disposables. But customers worry about cleanliness, even though restaurants wash plastic chopsticks with dish soap, sometimes in full view. So at the dumpling café and elsewhere, bamboo is available. After all, a pair costs about a third of a cent. *—Adam Minter*

LIFE OF A BAMBOO CHOPSTICK

- Source: scraps from flooring and furniture factories, virgin bamboo
- Automated cutting machine processes bamboo into chopsticks
- Used locally, exported (119,413 tons, mainly bamboo, to Japan alone)
- Off to the landfill



PHOTOS REBECCA HALE, NO STAFF (TOP), FRITZ HOFFMANN



22,981

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Veterinarians who started their own practice:

Who are developing a pet food line:

And like to train for 10Ks

With their Goldendoodle named Doc:

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TECHNOLOGY

An e-biker rides in Shangha some cities e-bikes need license plates like those (bottom) on regular bicycles

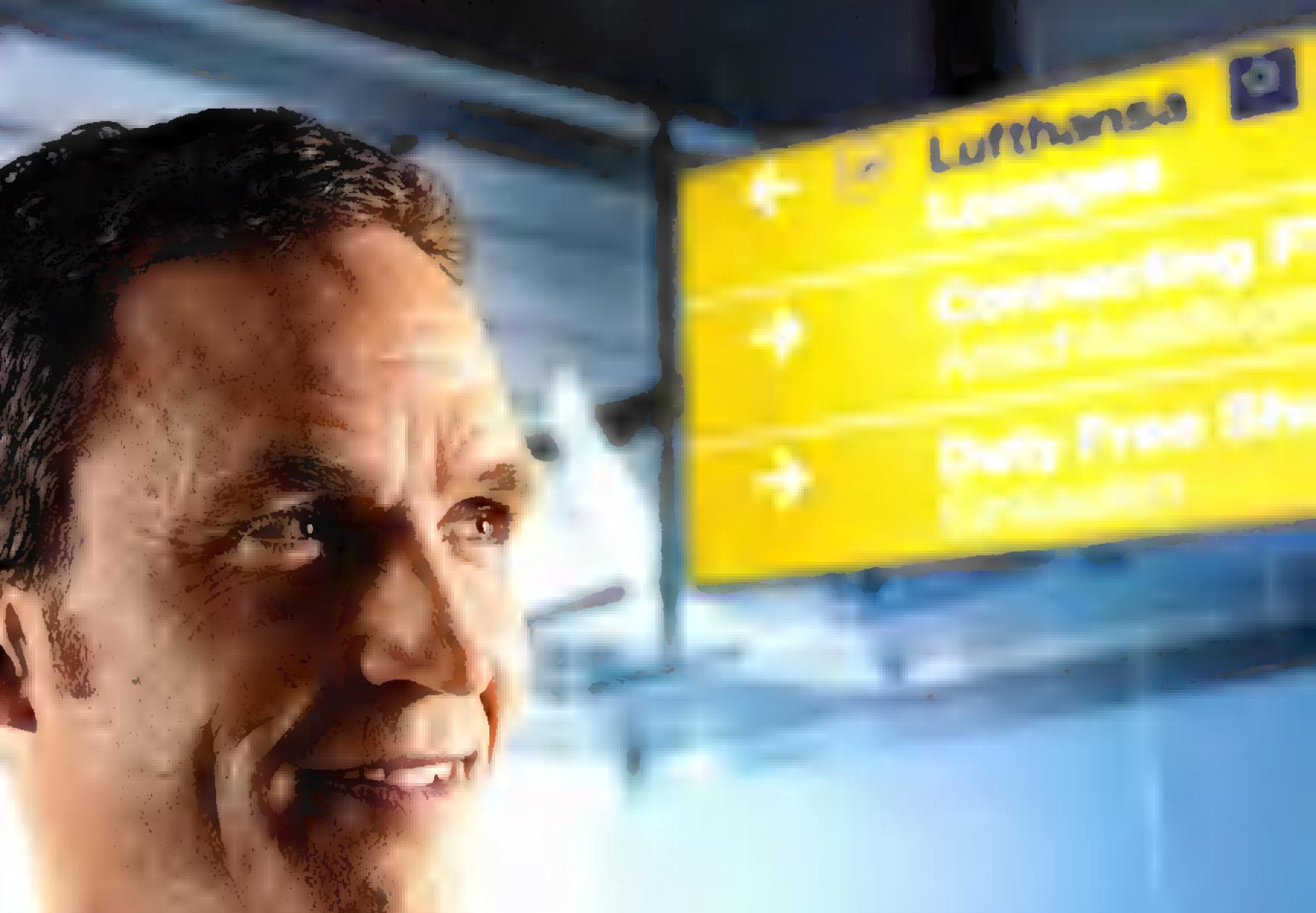




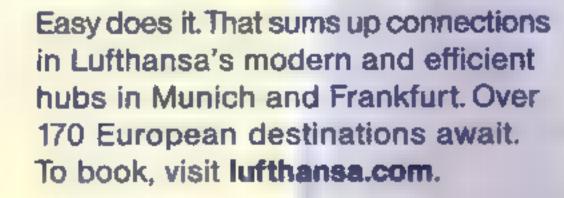
Cycle of Life China's teeming, polluted cities are crying out for a cheap, clean mode of transport. Enter the e-bike. Far more affordable and efficient than cars, electric bikes are replacing traditional ones and now account for an estimated 50 percent of all bicycles in some cities. This year Chinese e-bike makers may roll out 20 million units—bikes that cost consumers \$200 to \$300, can zip along quietly at a top speed of 20 miles an hour (despite \blacksquare speed limit of 12), and go 30 miles (more with pedaling) on 16 cents' worth of electricity. The lead-based batteries last about a year, and

the rebate they bring means they don't end up in the garbage. Lesson: When the price is right, commuters are happy to reinvent their wheels. —Anthony Kuhn

PHOTOS FRITZ HOFFMANN (TOP), REBECCA HALE, NG STAFF



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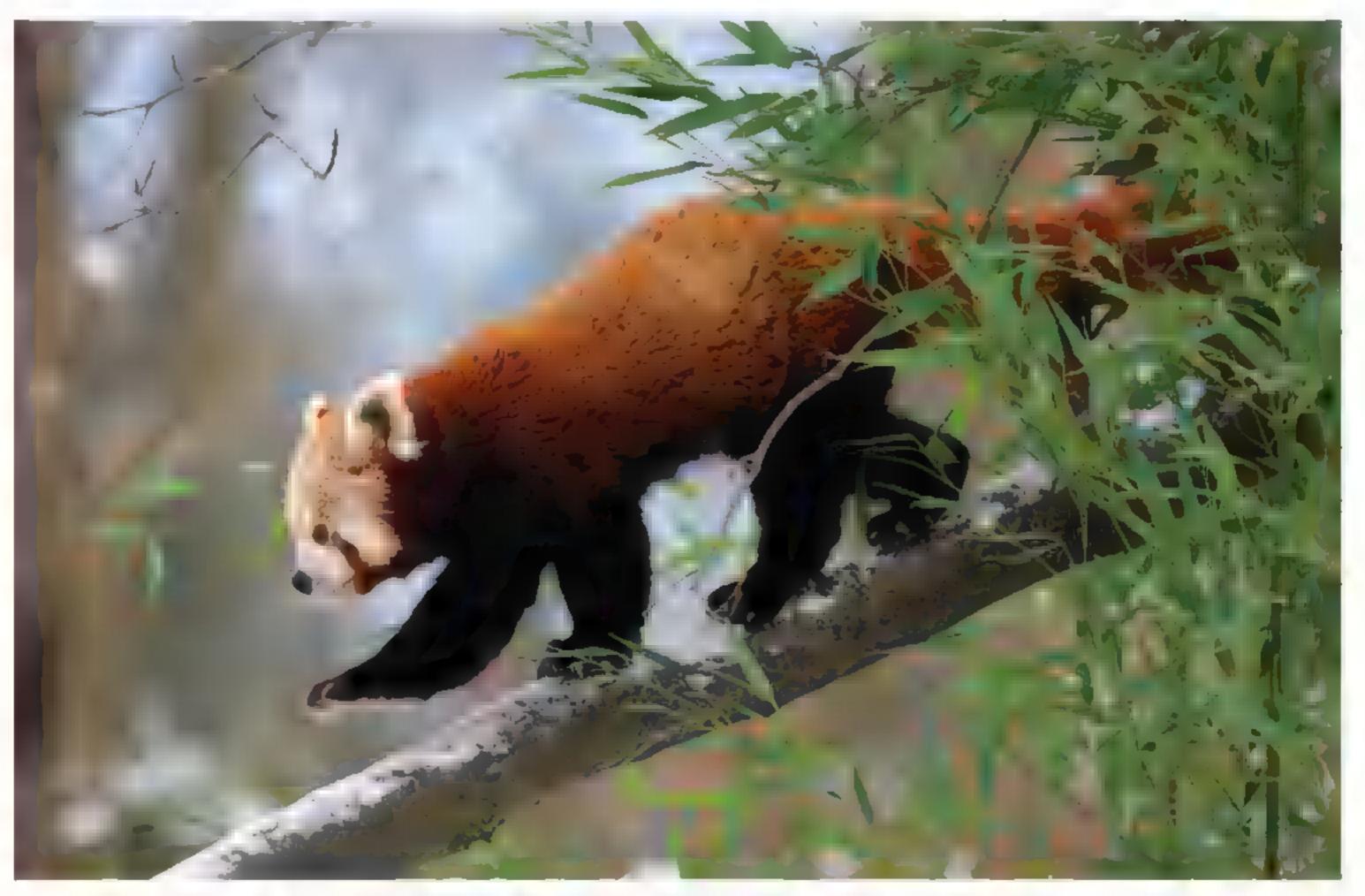
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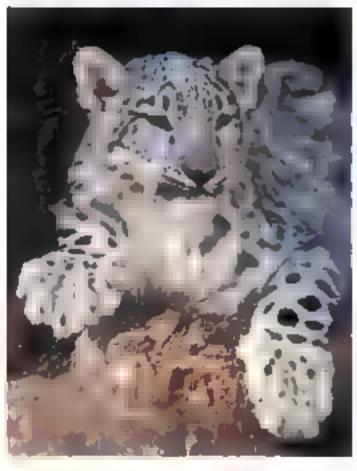
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A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER





Red pandas, less famous than their black-and-white distant cousins, are threatened by hunting and habitat loss.



Humans are taking snow leopard prey such as wild sheep and goats.



Caged Asiatic black bears are drained of bile for traditional medicine.



Tibetan gazelles now have to share their territory with livestock.



Only about 100 Cao vit gibbons still live along the Vietnam-China border.

Animal Backers When biologist Bill Bleisch moved to China in 1987, wildlife conservation was hardly a priority. It was the turbulent era after the Cultural Revolution. "The scientists I wanted to work with had just been allowed back into their offices a few years before," he recalls. At that time China was only an exploiter, renting giant pandas to zoos, killing other animals for pelts and body parts. In two decades Bleisch has seen improvement. As it reaches out to the West, China has begun to pay attention to saving animals. Enforcement hasn't kept up with laws; the market in illegal wildlife products, both domestic and imported, is booming. But Bleisch is hopeful. On a National Geographic grant

with Fauna and Flora International, he studied the Cao vit gibbon (above). Once thought hunted to extinction in China, the gibbon now has a chance at a comeback. -Helen Fields

PHOTOS (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP): HOLGER EHLERS, ALAMY; ZHAO CHAO, FFI; IIII ZHINONG, JAGDEEP RAJPUT, ARDEA; LYNN IIII STONE, NPL

How can disease be detected before it strikes?

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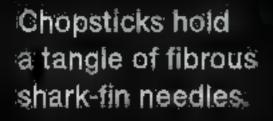


CONSERVATION

Sharks in the Soup For millions of years sharks patrolled the oceans with few predators. But then they met a foet the Chinese epicure. Four hundred years ago shark-fin soup was served at formal banquets by emperors and the wealthiest merchants. As China has prospered, more and more people can afford the dish, which means trouble for sharks.

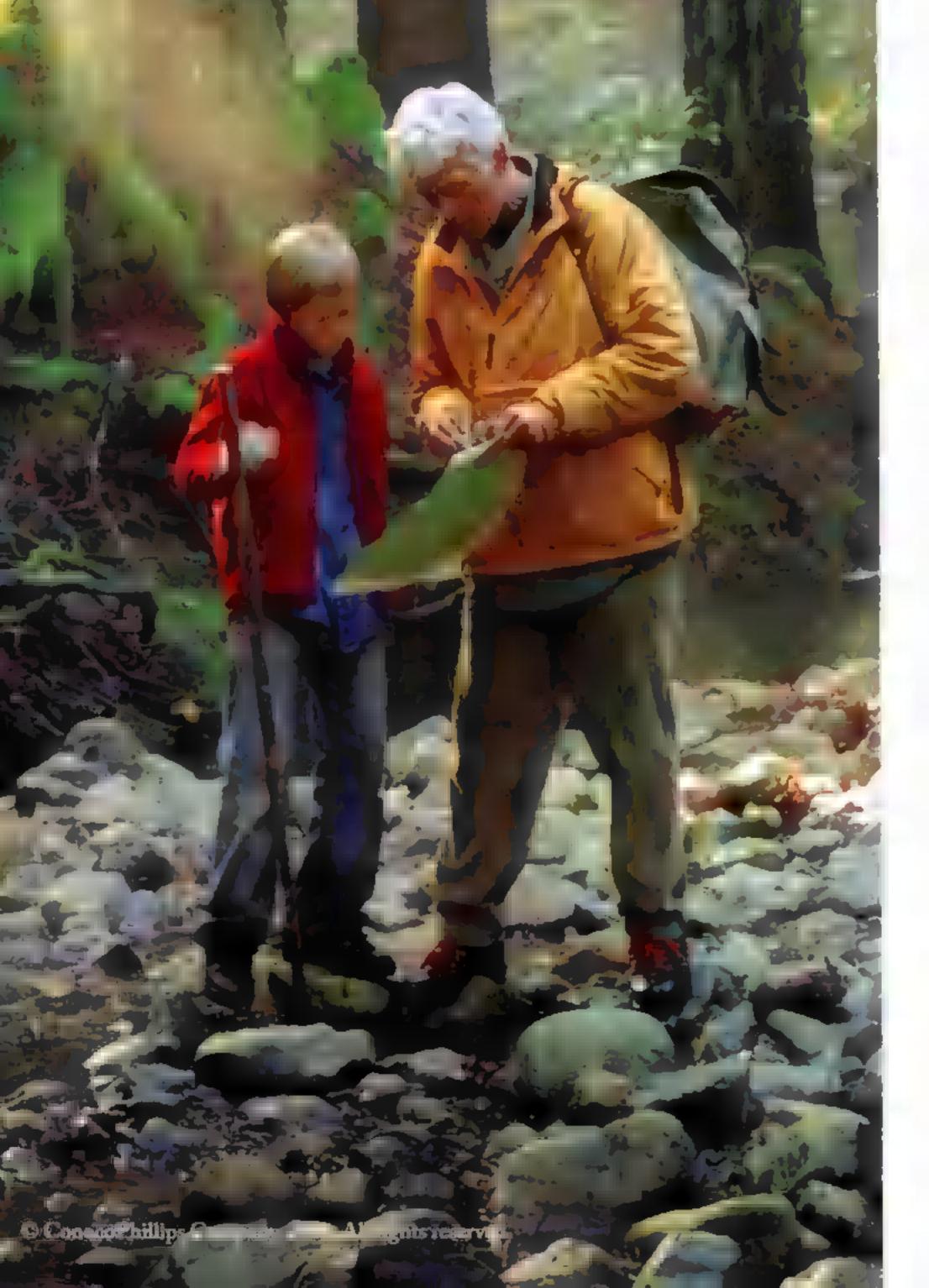
The fin's appeal isn't obvious. Chefs say that shark fin has almost no flavor. The gelatinous fin needles, fibers of collagen that are left behind when skin and cartilage are stripped away, add texture and a boost to social status—and to virility, some people say. Basketball star Yao Ming appeared in an anti-shark-fin campaign but to little apparent effect. The soup is almost always served at lavish wedding banquets, and many deals are sealed over a steaming bowl.

Tens of millions of sharks die for the soup each year, one reason why public lations have declined worl will le. Sharks are victims of lines set for tuna and swordfish; fishermen often out off the fins and toss the dead or dying shark overt will. With a growing demand for shark fins, some fleets are now targeting the fish. *—Jarrett Wrisley*





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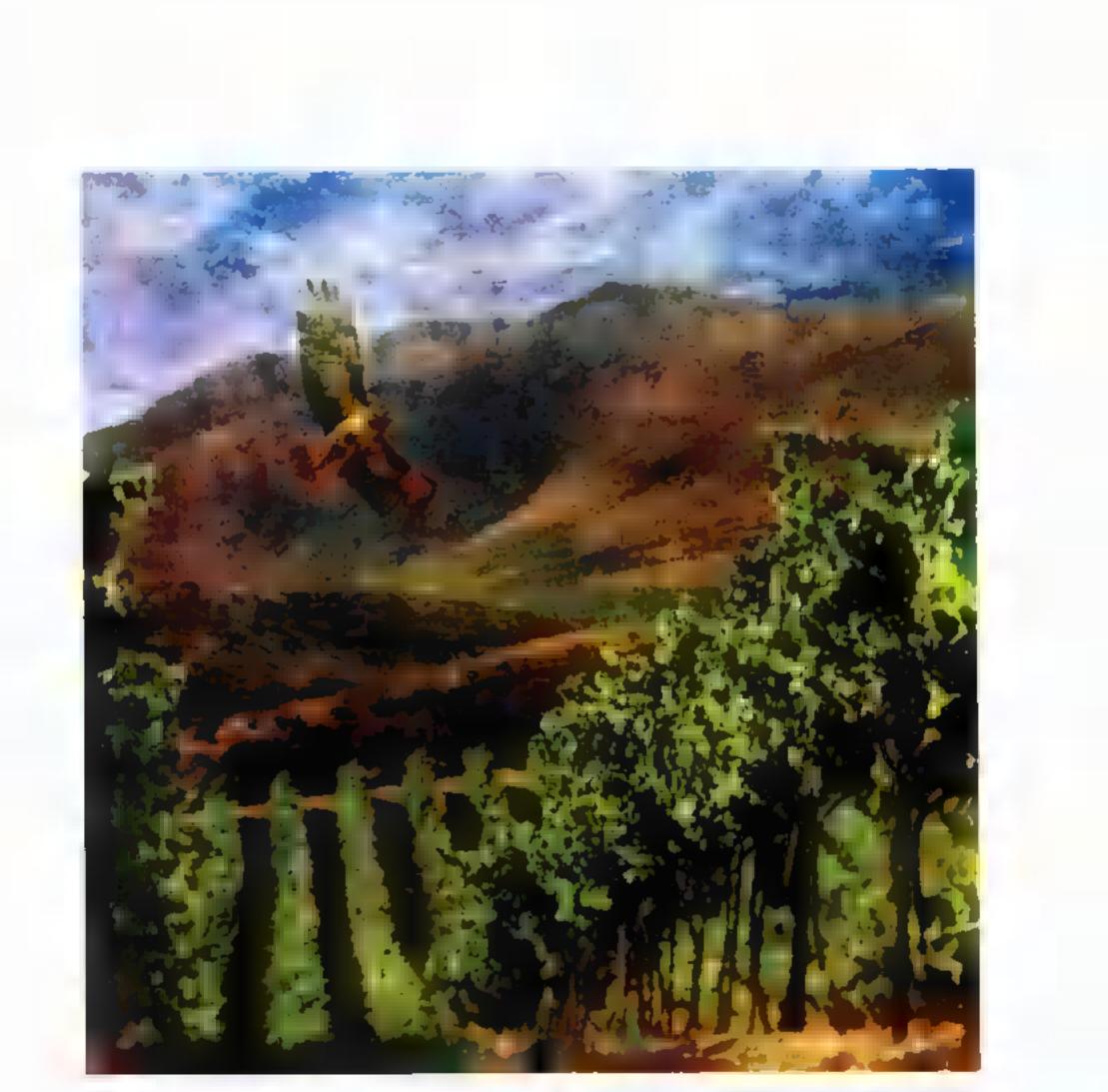




Senior Momentum

Old people in China do not sleep late. Early each morning millions of senior citizens gather in parks to exercise and socialize. And there are plenty of places to go. A 1995 nationwide fitness program helped establish some 30,000 outdoor recreation areas. Dai Wei, an 82-year-old with wispy hair and boxy glasses, heads to Shanghai's Fuxing Park for tai chi, the meditative martial art of stretching and balance exercises. In the afternoon he visits another park to dance with seniors. "I dance rumba and cha-cha for my physique," Dai says, "but more important, because it makes me happy." Dai's active lifestyle could also be a reason for his longevity. Zeng Yi, a professor of demography, is leading a study by Duke and Peking University of nearly 37,000 elderly Chinese. Taking into account their baseline health as well as socioeconomic status, family support, and other factors, the study has found that regular exercisers age 80 and older lower their risk of mortality by 20 percent. Indeed, China's average life expectancy of 72.5 years leads many developing nations. But not everyone is on board. Zeng is still trying to convince his 78-year-old Chinese mother to get out and work out. -Jarrett Wrisley

PHOTO: MICHAEL YAMASHITA



Camelot Highlands Estate, Santa Maria Valley



We built this hawk a home, now he works for us. Not too many years ago the Red Tall Hawk was a rarity in this area. Overdevelopment and unhealthy farming practices had chased most of them away.

In 1996, my wife and co-proprietor, Barbara, and I re-introduced both the Red Tall Hawk and the Peregrine Falcon back into the land that was theirs in the first place. Watching free creatures flourish in nature brings a Joy to my family that's hard to describe. We built hundreds of raptor perches in our vineyards to give these birds shelter and a place to raise their young. They repay us by helping our vineyards thrive in natural balance.

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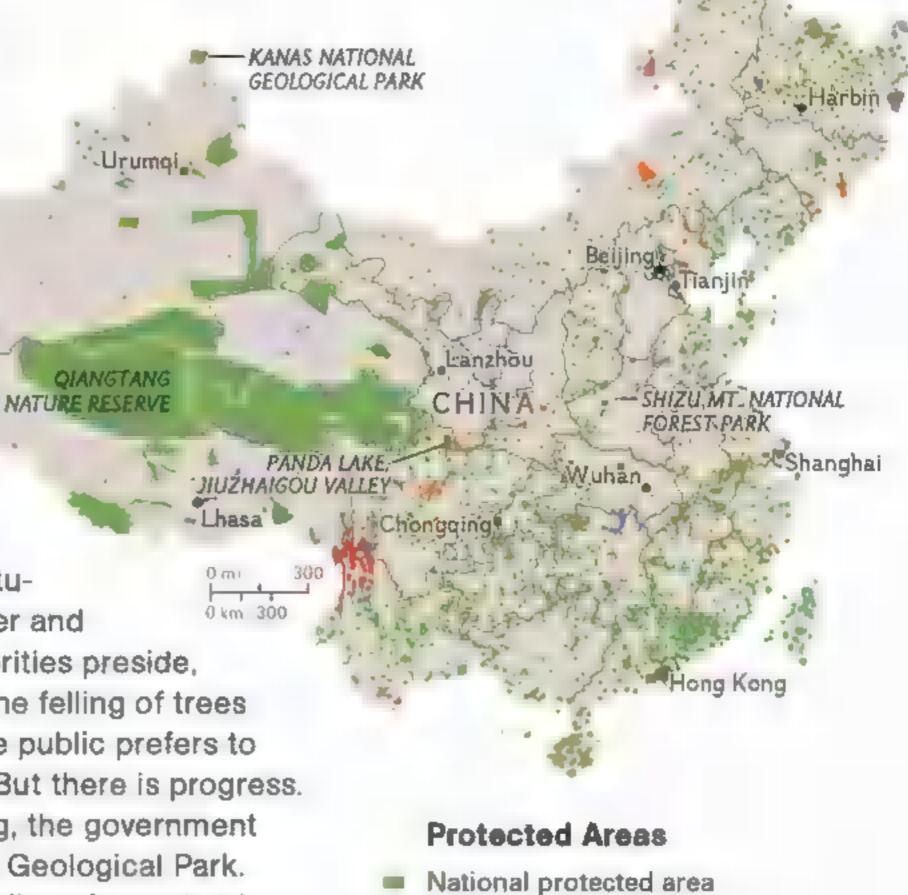
Ars Stackson



C O N S E R V A T I O N

Patchy Protection Old-style Chinese way of managing a national park: build I 13-mile concrete dragon along a mountain ridge, install gondolas, clear trees for shops. New way: no concrete creatures (the dragon in Shizu Mountain National Forest Park was halted last year for lack of a permit) and I premium on conservation.

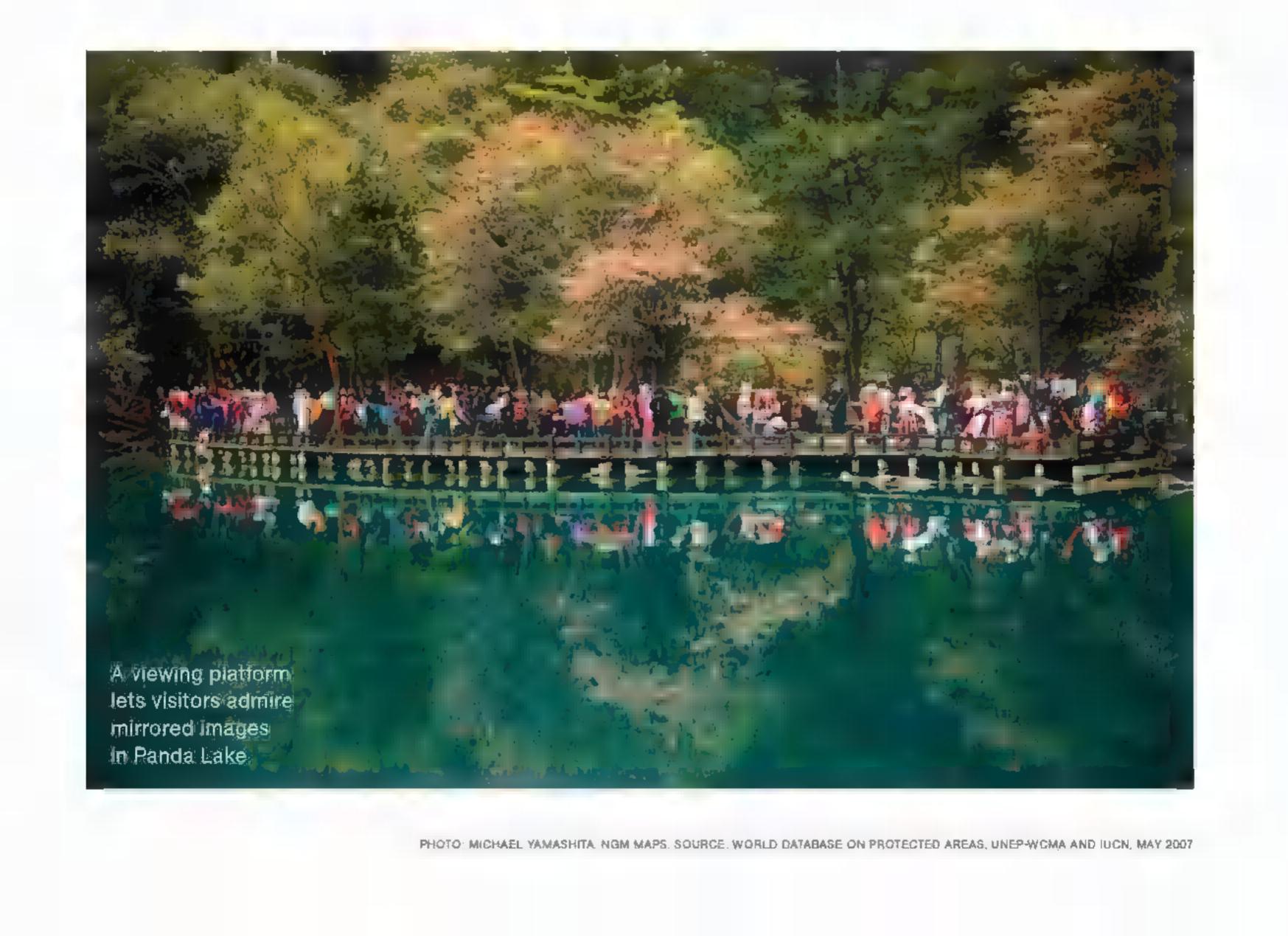
The greening of the parks will take time. China has conferred varying levels Lhasa of protection on nearly 2,000 places, including 89 internationally recognized sites. Unfortu-0 mi 0 km 300 nately, national agencies don't have the power and resources to oversee all of them. Local authorities preside, with mixed results-from outright abuses to the felling of trees to build viewing platforms, where much of the public prefers to admire nature in lieu of hiking and camping. But there is progress. In the remote northwestern region of Xinjiang, the government plans to expand and improve Kanas National Geological Park. Inside its boundaries: roughly 3,800 square miles of grasslands, mountains, and a deep alpine lake. Businesses will move to an "accommodation zone" outside the park. Buses will take visitors to scenic spots, then back to the souvenir shops. -- Adam Minter



 Wetlands of International Importance (Ramsar)

UNESCO-MAB biosphere reserve

World Heritage sites





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Partners in health

Wore than 30 million people in China are living with a disease they know little or nothing about Diabetes, known for decades in many countries as the "silent killer," rapidly has become a major chronic disease for the Chinese

Project HOPE and its partners are combining education with public awareness campaigns to slow the spread of the disease. The ultimate goal of the partnershie is to train Chinese nurses: physicians, an dieticians so they, in turn; can train staff and medical professionals To idate: more than 170,000 individuals in 32 Chinese provinces have received training.

major provider of healthcare devices and educational programs for health professionals and diabetes sufferers. It was natural, then, for BD to partner with Project HORE and share its expertise and financial support with the China Diabetes Program

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LED "embers" glow with each puff of China's tobacco-free e-pipe, and clouds of pseudo-smoky vapor waft out.

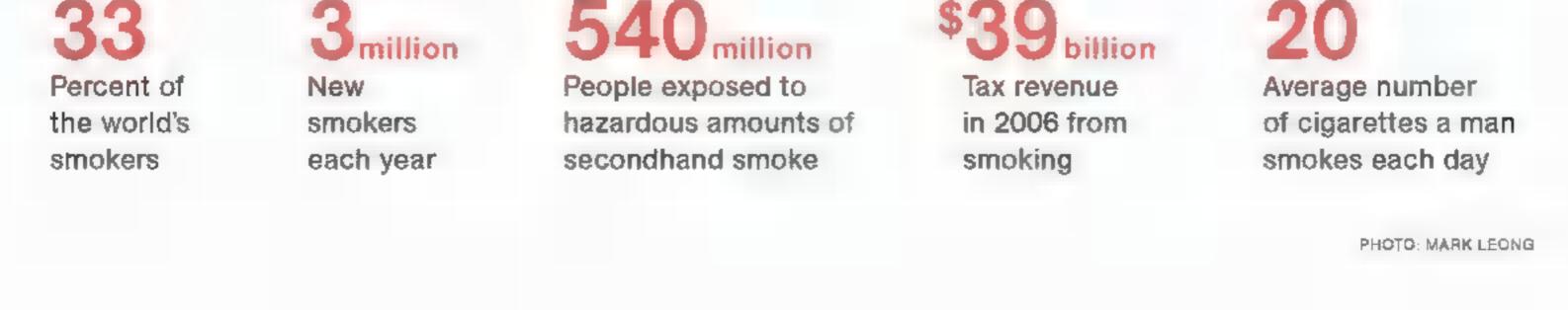
Blowing Smoke Making deals the Chinese way, lesson number one: Don't just shake hands with a potential business partner, pass over a fresh cigarette as well. That's one sign of just how hooked China is. Its 350 million smokers include many who should know better. Sixty percent of male doctors light up, led by former health minister Gao Qiang. Each year smoking kills more than one million Chinese and costs over six billion dollars in health care.

Now one Chinese company says its electronic pipes and batterypowered e-cigarettes can make smoking safer, boasting that there's no tobacco, no tar, no carcinogens. The devices use ultrasound technology to atomize liquid nicotine into inhalable droplets. Critics have raised concerns about the nicotine content. A New Zealand university is recruiting smokers for the first trials, including a look at whether e-smoking might help them quit. At the moment, the World Health Organization representative in China does not recommend using either device. The company is betting that lots of smokers abroad will be eager to sidestep indoor smoking bans with \$200 e-cigarettes. But at that price, Chinese businessmen are unlikely to start handing them out. -Louisa Lim

CHINA'S TOBACCO INROADS











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ARCHAEOLOGY

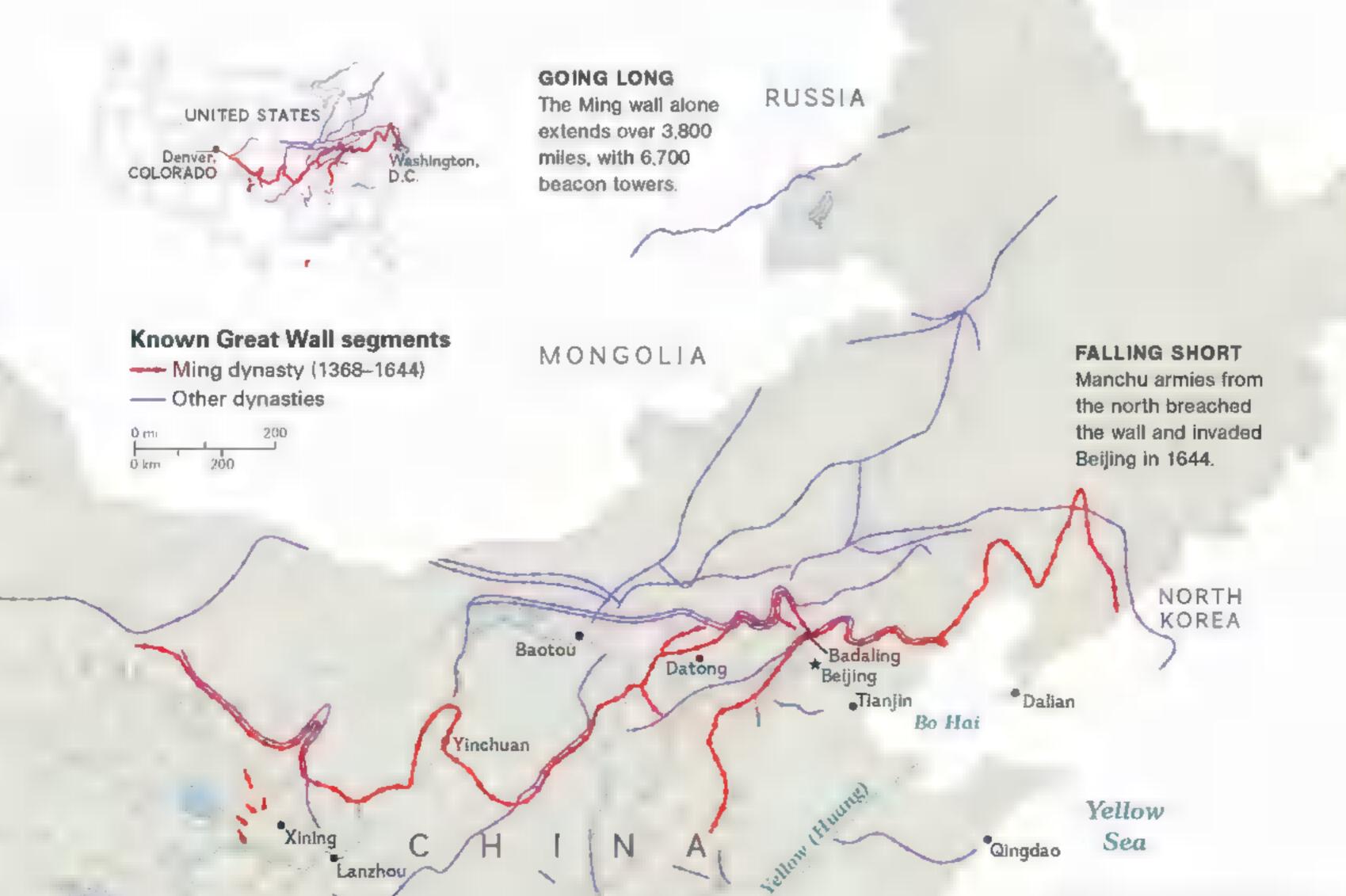
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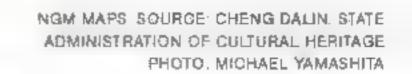
Up Against the Wall It sounds like a straightforward task: map the Great Wall of China. It is not. The wall is, in fact, many walls-hundreds, if not thousands, of disconnected sections. While the Ming (1368-1644) were the most prolific of its many builders, some parts date to the Warring States era of 443-221 B.C., when rival kingdoms were defending themselves. After that period the northernmost walls were linked and extended to ward off attackers. Over time, portions have collapsed and bricks have been taken for homes or roads. Using fieldwork and high-tech tools, China is in the midst of an effort to document the myriad walls-if they can all be found. Target completion date is 2010. -Jarrett Wrisley

The wall in Badaling, 43 miles northwest of Beijing, was restored in the 1950s.



Ν

Xián



Sea

Qingdao

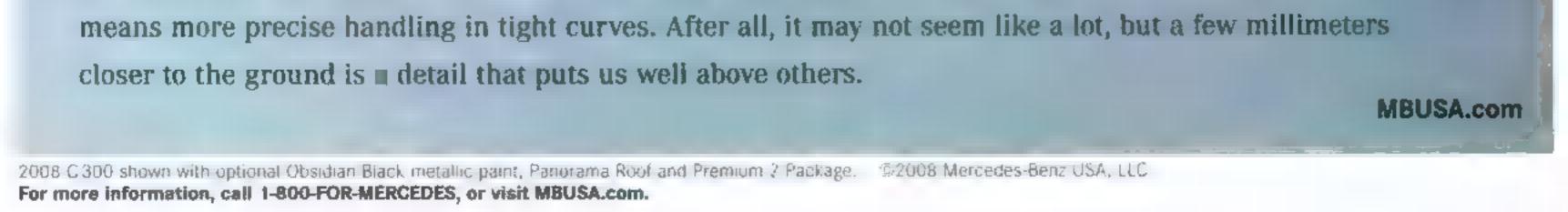
Huaiyin.



Lowering its suspension 15 millimeters raised the bar exponentially.

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Precision. At Mercedes-Benz, it's calculated to the millimeter. Fifteen tiny ticks lower on our C-Class



CULTURE



Van Gogh's canvas

Copycat, Inc. Van Gogh spent months on his sunflower paintings. In the village of Dafen in southern China, an ace imitator can whip up a clone in a day or two. Thousands of Dafen painters mimic old masterpieces. Prices start at \$4 or so locally and run \$100 and up overseas and online. Annual exports, mostly to Europe and the U.S., total tens of millions of dollars. So it's **u** big business.

Is it art? "An artist must be a creator," says Mu Jiashan, a gifted Chinese landscapist and an art educator. "A good artist would not copy a painting to make money." Copyist Wu Yangliang, 36, admits: "I'd love to give up replication and follow my artistic dreams." But a steady flow of sunflowers pays the rent. —Shamus Sillar



KNOCKOFFS

In 1989 Hong Kong art dealer Huang Jiang came to the Chinese village of Dafen. Rent and labor were cheap, and so a replica

center was born.

Some copyists are self-taught; others are art school grads.

The fastest workers do as many as 20 paintings in a day.

A copyist can earn \$1,500 to \$4,500 a year; average salary in China's cities is \$2,500.

Demand is surging for copies of contemporary Chinese art.

For an extra fee, an artist will paint your mother's face on Mona Lisa's body.

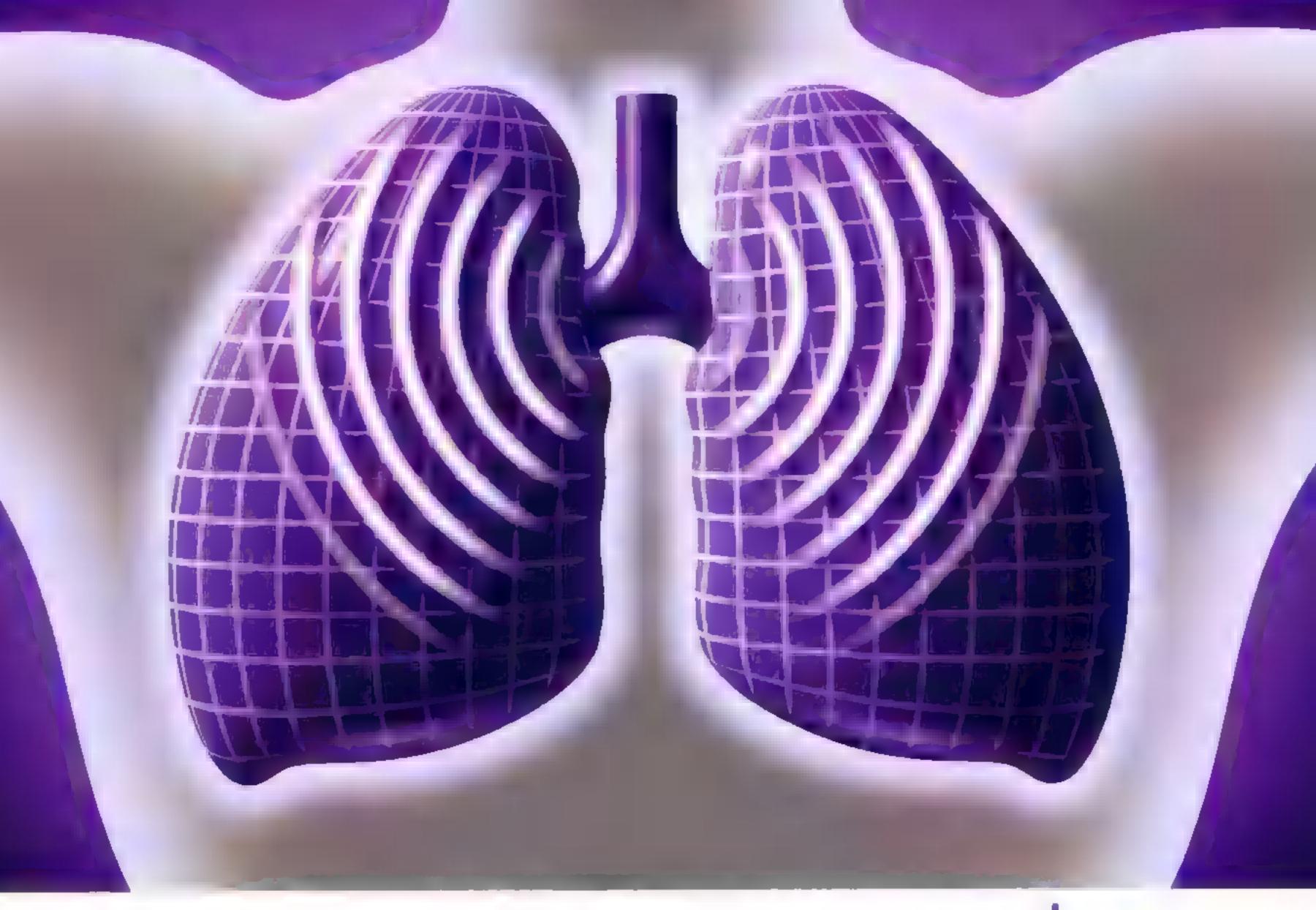
An artist in Dafen



displays a not-so-

perfect reproduction.

PHOTOS, THE NATIONAL GALLERY LONDON (TOP); MICHAEL WOLF, LAIF/REDUX



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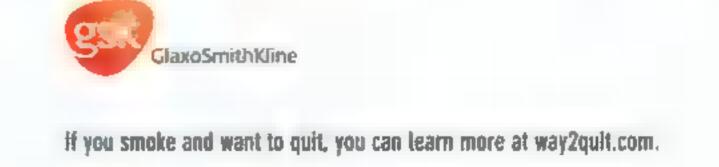
¹See advairCOPD.com for eligibility rules. Please see accompanying important information about ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects **a prescription drugs a the FDA**. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch. or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 (fluticasone propionate 250 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)



If you don't have prescription coverage and can't afford your medicines, visit pparx.org, or call 1-888-4PPA-NOW (1-888-477-2669)



ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50, 250/50, 500/50 (fluticasone propionate 100, 250, in acg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta, agonist medicines such as salmeterol (one of the medications in ADVAIR*) may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterot. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAIR: Fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as controasteroids; and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta, regonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR: 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

For Asthma

- ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAIR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma controller medications.
- The strength of ADVAIR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAIR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAIR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking sameterol in this situation, although it is not possible to tail whether sameterol contributed to these events. This may also occur ill patients with less severe asthma.

Can I take ADVAIR DISINUS with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbail supplements.

If you are taking ADVAIR DISKUS, do not use other long-acting beta, agonist-containing medications, such as SEREVENT* DISKUS or Foradil* Aerolizer,* or any reason.

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAIR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir* Soft Gelatin Capsules, Norvir Oral Solution, and Kaletra* contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAIR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAIR was taken with varying amounts of abuterol. The effect of using ADVAIR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs a day of albuterol has not been studied.

ADVAIR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or tricyclic antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAIR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAIR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketoconazole (an antifungus medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAIR to have greater starold side effects.

Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta,-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable atternative.

The ECG changes and/or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAIR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAIR was taken with methybanthines (e.g., theophyline) or with FLONASE* (fluticasone propionate).

What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS?

Pneumonia: Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR. There was a higher incidence of pneumonia reported in patients with COPD taking ADVAIR DISKUS in clinical studies.

Osteoporosis: Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for increased bone loss (tobacco use, advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAIR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

Glaucoma and cataracts: Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAIR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAIR.

Blood sugar: Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAIR.

You should not take ADVAIR if you have had an allergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or factose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to ADVAIR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAIR, stop using ADVAIR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions are when you experience one or more of the following: choking; breathing problems; swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue; rash; hives; itching; or welts on the skin.

Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time), it could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately.
- If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day). Your doctor may tell you to stop the regular use of these medications.
- If your peak flow meter results decrease. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone, and are now using ADVAIR. You should be very careful as you may be less able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral steroid may also unmask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as altergies, conjunctivitis, eczema, arthritis, and ecsinophilic conditions. Symptoms of an ecsinophilic condition can include sash, worsening breathing problems, heart complications, and/or feeling of "pins and needles" or numbress in the arms and legs. Talk to your doctor Immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Sometimes patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be file threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, inegular heart beat or high blood pressure, ADVAIR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about your condition because satmeterot, one of the components of ADVAIR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. It may cause symptoms such as heart fluttering, chest pain, rapid heart rate, tremor, or nervousness.
- · If you have seizures, overactive thyroid gland, fiver problems, or are sensitive to certain medications for breathing.
- If your breathing problems get worse over time or if your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you while using ADVAIR. If your breathing problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical care.
- If you have been exposed to or currently have chickenpox or measles or if you have an immune system problem. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAIR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious or even faital in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAIR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAIR may take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAIR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAIR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

When using ADVAIR, remember:

Never breathe into or take the DISKUS* apart.

Printing and they are an end of a subsection of the section of

Growth: Inhaled steroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

Sheroids: Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during intections and times of severe stress to your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids (but it is more common with oral steroids), especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

Yeast infections: Patients taking ADVAIR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by their doctor.

Tuberculosis or other unireated intections: ADVAIR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes intections of the eye, or other untreated infections.

What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS?

Bronchittis

Headaches

Diantheat

Nausea and vomiting

Couch

ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAIR included:

- Respiratory infections
- Throat initiation
- Hoarseness
- Sinus infection
- Yeast infection of the mouth
- Musculoskeletal pain
- Dizziness
- Fever
- · Ear, nose, and throat infections
- · Nosebleed

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Talk to your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAIR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAIR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAIR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth detects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose.

What other important lesis were conducted with ADVAIR?

There is no evidence of enhanced loxicity with ADVAIR compared with the components administered separately. In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

For more information on ADVAIR DISRUS

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit www.ADVAIR.com or call 1-888-825-5249. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

ADVAIR, ADVAIR DISKUS, FLONASE, SEREVENT, and DISKUS are registered trademarks of GlaxoSmith/Gine. The following are registered trademarks of their respective manufacturers: Foradi/Astellas Pharma Inc.; Aerolizer/Novartis AG; Norvir and Kaletra/Abbott Laboratories.



Always use the DISKUS in a level position.
After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing.
Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place.
Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose.
Discard 1 month after removal from the feit pouch.
Do not use ADVAIR with a spacer device.

Children should use ADVAIR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.



GlaxoSmithKine Research Triangle Park, NC 27709 ADD: 2PI October 2007

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ADVERTISEMENT

Erase Wrinkles Without Botox®*!

Breakthrough anti-aging cream combines three scientifically advanced wrinkle-reducing ingredients to rival the results of Botox^{®*}.

n recent years Botox*** has been promoted as the leader of antiwrinkle treatments. Although it can be successful, it is very expensive, painful, must be administered by a physician, and, in many cases, two to three treatments are needed for the desired corrections. After years of research and testing, a new safe, more affordable product offering comparable results is now available.

Most Advanced Anti-Aging Product Available

Hydroxatone[®] is a true, clinically proven Botox®* alternative. It is a superior facial cream that can reduce deep wrinkles, and it's completely non-toxic, safe and has no side effects. How can it rival Botox **? Hydroxatone[®] contains three of the most effective substances known that are needed for real results. Most products use one or two of these important ingredients, but the makers of Hydroxatone" are the first to combine all three, resulting in the most advanced skin care and wrinkle reducer on the market.



because it relies on THREE proven ingredients for REAL results. Matrixyl[™] 3000[±] is clinically proven to promote collagen production in the skin. Collagen is the most powerful substance known to help keep skin stay young, soft and vibrant. Argireline** is a combination of amino acids formulated to relax facial wrinkles, reduce the degree of existing wrinkles and stop their future development. And Hyaluronic Acid is virtually unmatched in hydrating the skin, resulting in increased smoothness, softening, elasticity and decreased facial wrinkles. But Hydroxatone" doesn't stop there! It also includes other natural antioxidants, botanicals, vitamins, and peptides and a gentle but powerful exfoliant...all to nourish your skin while fading wrinkles.

What Our Customers **Have To Say About** Hydroxatone[®]...

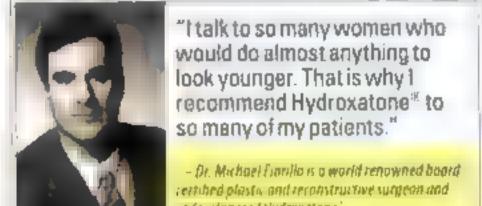
"Within two weeks of using Hydroxatone®, I was getting compliments on my skin from friends and co-workers. My skin not only feels great, but it looks great too! You've made me a Hydroxatone® believer!"

- Robin B., Los Angeles

Results not typical

There Is No Comparison

Forget Botox^{***} or any other radical and dangerous treatments. Throw out other creams that simply don't work. Hydroxatone" is a proven anti-wrinkle cream that is completely safe and clinically proven. Within two weeks Hydroxatone* users will start to see results. With continued use, their skin will become softer, smoother, more radiant, and youngerlooking...and that's GUARANTEED.



Why Choose Hydroxatone®

PRODUCT	. Hydroxatone*	Olay [®] Regenerist [®]	Strivectin SD***
Argiretine ^{de} Acotyl Heuapeptide 3	YES	ND	NO
Matrixy1" 3000	YES	NO	NO
Hyeluronic Acid	YES	NO	NO

THREE Proven Wrinkle-Reducing Ingredients

Hydroxatone^{*} is unlike any other skin cream you've ever tried

HOW HYDROXATONE® WORKS

MATRIXYL 3000" + ARGIRELINE" + HYALURONIC ACID

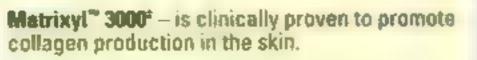
68% reduction of deep wrinkles in just six months

- Diminished age spots & increased supplemess.
- Enhanced production of healthy, radiant new skin.
- Tightened and toned skin.



Up To 68% Reduction **Of Deep Wrinkles**

Unless you've actually tried Hydroxatone", it's hard to imagine it can work the miracles users claim it does. But women and men of all ages are using Hydroxatone* and seeing real and noticeable results every day. The cumulative results that are seen within two weeks will continue with daily use. Over six months this will increase to as much as a 68% reduction in deep wrinkles.



Argireline** -- is a combination of amino acids formulated to relax facial wrinkles, reduce the degree of existing wrinkles and stop their future development.

Hyaluronic Acid - is virtually unmatched in hydrating the skin, resulting in increased

odeveloper of Hydroxotone

Having A Hard Time Finding Hydroxatone®?

For years consumers have only had expensive and ineffective alternatives to achieve younger looking skin. You may have seen other inferior anti-wrinkle products costing hundreds of dollars at some high priced salons. Unlike those pricey and unproven alternatives, the manufacturer of Hydroxatone* is so confident in their anti-aging technology that they are offering a 30-day risk free

trial offer...because seeing is believing!

To get your supply of Hydroxatone risk free, for just a



small S&H fee call 888-524-9109. Our operators are available to let you try one of the greatest breakthroughs in wrinkle fighting technology without spending hundreds of dollars.

Call 888-524-9109 to get your Hydroxatone® 30-Day Risk Free Trial Offer Today!



smoothness, softening, elasticity and decreased facial wrinkles.

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How Can This Emerald Be Green and "Green" at the Same Time?

Our brilliant scientists found a planet-friendly way to bring you lavish 2.5 carat emeralds grown to perfection in the laboratory.

The Queen of all precious gemstones. They have adorned the Crown Jewels and decorated the ornate royal thrones of dynasties dating back 3,000 years. As a symbol of opulence and romance they are without match. With their sparkling green luster, they are considered to be more precious than diamonds. And, carat for carat, they are the most expensive gems in the world. Ever since they were first found in Cleopatra's Mines and became the foundation of ancient Egypt's wealth, radiant, deep green emeralds of over 2 carats have been highly prized for their beauty and rarity. Greener Green. But mining these stones is a dirty business. Stauer has found a better way. Our scientifically grown Emerald Collection originates from the intelligence of mankind rather than digging deep into the earth's surface. The win-win result is a high-carat emerald that's literally and figuratively green-flashing more color, clarity, and fire than emeralds from a mine but without the environmental damage, labor exploitation, and conflict sometimes associated with gemstone mining. And our scientifically grown emeralds are much more sensibly priced. Even trained gemologists have trouble separating the mined stones from the scientifically grown emeralds because their chemical composition is identical and optical and physical properties are so similar.

Set in gold vermeil with clear scientifically-grown DiamondAura accents and granulation.

complicated and calls for some very expensive lab equipment. We use a method called hydrothermal flux synthesis. This technique involves building the emerald crystal with high temperatures and pressures, with final crystallization occuring in a cooling chamber. This process is slow and expensive, so there is a limit to this production. We will make less than half of 1% of the mined carat count for emeralds this year.

Clearly a desirable alterna-

tive! Being prone to inclusions by the very nature of their turbulent formation beneath the earth,



and inclusion-free, enabling us to create pieces over 2 carats that radiate with rich, vibrant color but costing a lot less of your green!

To take advantage of the exceptional clarity of these lab-created stones, we chose the classic cushion cut. This romantic "antique" design, hugely popular again, plays up their breathtaking sparkle and light-reflecting qualities. Like their mined counterparts, our scientifically grown Emerald Collection adheres to the 4 C's of gemology excellent cut, color, carat weight, and clarity. Wear our cushion-cut, scientifically grown Emerald Collection for 30 days. If you aren't dazzled by its mind-over-mined magnificence, simply return the piece(s) to us for a full refund of the purchase price. Not Available in Stores

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- B. Earrings (2.5 ctw)-\$225 + 5&H
- C. 18" Necklace (1.9 ctw)-\$195 + 5&H

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flawless mined emerald of 2.5 carats and good color is extremely expensive-costing potentially \$40,000 or more. Our earth-friendly, scientifically grown emeralds are faultless

Rare Jewelry from Science. This scientific process is quite

ENVIRONMENT



A greenbelt is one defense against sandstorms on the road to the Taklimakan oil field. **Unjust Deserts** Sand stretches to the horizon, dunes rise more than 1,500 feet, and farmers flee their parched plots for work in the city. Welcome to northern China, where desertification—land degradation caused primarily by human activities—is wiping out close to a million acres of grassland a year (an area nearly as large as Rhode Island). Striving to feed 20 percent of the world's population, the Chinese have overgrazed, overfarmed, and created new deserts in the process. Since 1949 the country's 425 million agricultural workers have lost one-fifth of their arable land, and dust storms—the result of topsoil loss—now buffet Beijing. Greenpeace says a government-mandated tree-planting effort has been successful to a point, but that grass seeding and stricter land management are the best bets for an ecological recovery. Ironically, the urban migration might help in the short term: With fewer farmers and livestock, plants can put down roots again. *—Jarrett Wrisley*

Hot Topic



Of Dams and Damage The Three Gorges Dam spans the Yangtze River, holds back 10.3 trillion gallons of water, and may well be the world's largest producer of renewable energy. But China's biggest engineering project since

ecological—and humanitarian controversy. The dam has pooled dangerously high levels of pollution from China's largest municipality, Chongqing, and has displaced more than a million people to hillside villages where







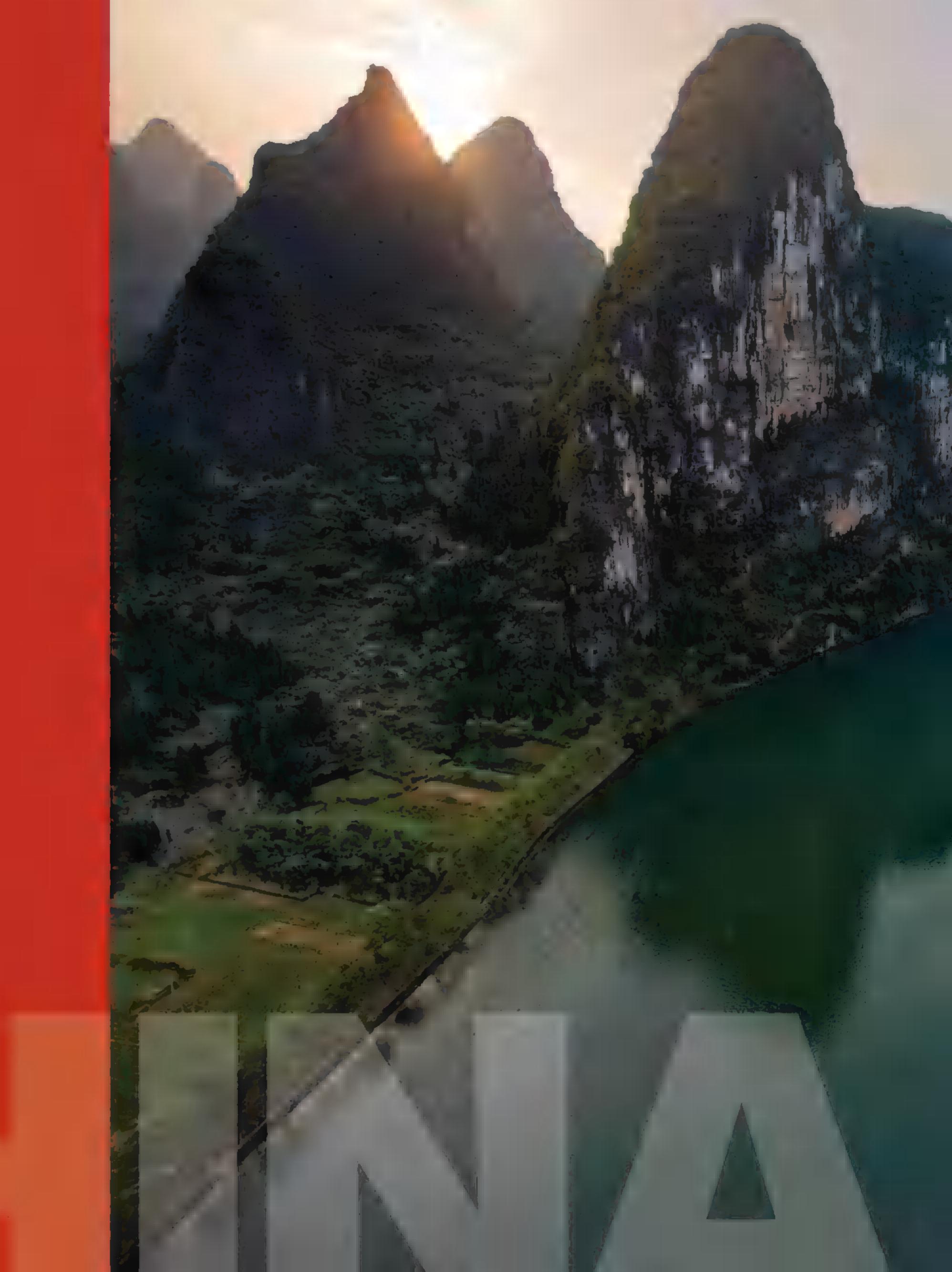


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INSIDE THE DRAGON















BY PETER HESSLER PHOTOGRAPHS BY FRITZ HOFFMANN



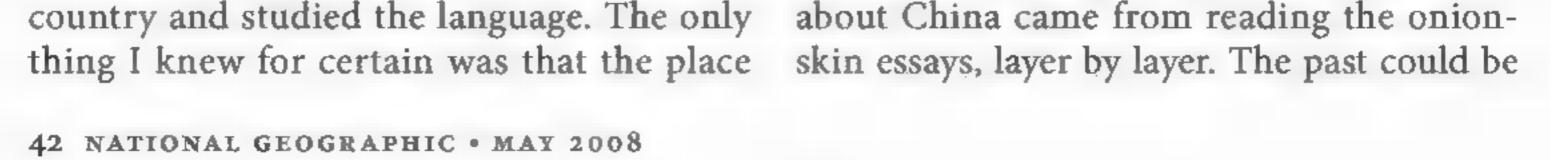
MY STUDENTS WROTE ESSAYS ON paper so cheap and thin that it felt like the skin of an onion. The brittle pages tore easily; if held to the light, they glowed. The English was flawed, but sometimes that only gave the words more power. "My parents were born in poor farmer's family," wrote a young man who had chosen the English name Hunt. "They told us that they had eaten barks, grass, etc. At that time grandpa and grandma had no open minds and

didn't allow my mother to go to school because she is a girl." Another classmate described his mother: "Her hair becomes silver white, and some of her teeth become movable. But she works as hard as ever." Those were common themes-my students valued patience and diligence, and they liked to write about family. National events often left them perplexed. "I'm a Chinese, but I feel it difficult to see my country clearly," wrote a woman named Airane. "I believe there are many young people are as confused as I'm."

Her teacher felt the same way. In 1996 I had been sent to China as a Peace Corps volunteer, and that was the first time I had lived in the

was bound to change. Deng Xiaoping was still alive, although there were rumors that he was in poor health. Hong Kong still belonged to the British; China had yet to join the World Trade Organization; Beijing had recently failed in its bid to host the 2000 Olympics. On the middle Yangtze, the government was building the world's largest hydroelectric dam, the Three Gorges project, and I was assigned to a teaching job in Fuling, a small city that would be affected by the new dam. The Yangtze was visible from my classroom, and with every glimpse I wondered how this mighty river could ever become a lake.

In the beginning much of what I learned



painful for my students—when they wrote about history, it was usually personal. Even a distant event like the 19th-century Opium War made them indignant, because the Chinese believed that such foreign aggression had initiated the country's long decline. When it came to modern disasters-the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution-they left much unsaid. "If I had been Mao Zedong," wrote a tactful student named Joan, "I wouldn't have let the thing happen between 1966 and 1976." But they refused to judge their elders. Eileen wrote: "Today, when we see [the Cultural Revolution] with our own sight, we'll feel our parents' thoughts and actions are somewhat blind and fanatical. But if we consider that time objectly, I think, we should understand and can understand them. Each generation has its own happiness and

pages contained so much anger. They hated the Japanese for invading their country in the 1930s; they hated the Nationalist government for ruling Taiwan. "I hate all the countries in the world that abstruct our country developing," wrote Sean. History was personal, and so were international affairs; a student named Richard hated a man he had never met, the president of Taiwan. "Lee Teng-hui don't follow the mandate of the heaven and comply with the popular wishes of the people," Richard wrote. "He want Taiwan continue to be an independent kingdom which is under his control."

But already it was becoming more common for Chinese to see the outside world as an opportunity, and usually my students showed intense curiosity. They asked endless questions about American customs, laws, products. Don, who had grown up in one of the poorest homes of all my students, composed a letter to Robert J. Eaton, then the CEO of the Chrysler Corporation. "My hometown is Fengdu, I hope you have heard its name," Don wrote. "But my hometown's economy hasn't been developed. So I want to establish a factory for making cars and trucks." They were dreamers, and I could tell that some of them were bound to wander far from home. In every class certain students stood out, like a young woman named Vanessa. She was beautiful, and her English was among the best in the class, but mostly her ideas were different. "Someday, I will visit U.S. to see the wide, eternal Midwest Prairie," she wrote. "And I want to know what the Indians look like, and what kind of life they lead. 'Dance with Buffalo' is my dream."

sadness. To younger generation, the important thing is understanding instead of criticizing."

They were the first Chinese to grow up in the post-Mao world. Most had been infants in 1978, when Deng Xiaoping initiated the freemarket changes that eventually became known as Reform and Opening. Nearly all my students came from the countryside, and when they were small, the nation's population was still 80 percent rural. Many of their parents were illiterate; some of their grandmothers had bound feet. A number of my students were the first people from their villages to attend college.

They majored in English—a new subject for a nation hoping to overcome a history of troubled foreign relations. Ever since the Opium War the Chinese had wavered between perceiving the outside world as a threat or as an opportunity, until Mao's xenophobia resulted in over two decades of isolation. But Deng took the opposite approach, encouraging foreign trade, and in the 1990s all middle schools and high schools began to institute mandatory English courses. The nation faced a severe shortage of instructors, and most of my students would go on to teach in small-town schools.

Sometimes the old xenophobia flashed across

AFTER FINISHING THE PEACE CORPS, I stayed in China as a writer, eventually spending more than a decade in the country. During that time I witnessed a number of major events: the death of Deng Xiaoping, the return of Hong Kong, the successful bid to host the 2008 Olympics.

Peter Hessler's third China book, Country Driving,

their essays. Once, I assigned the topic "What Do You Hate?" and never had those brittle been documenting change in the country since 1995. CHINA'S JOURNEY 43







Chinese history has become the story of average citizens. But there are risks when a nation depends on the individual dreams of 1.3 billion people rather than a coherent political system with clear rule of law.

Deng Xiaoping, it's difficult to credit these Occasionally the old anger flared up, like the massive demonstrations that followed NATO's critical changes to any specific government bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade official. The Communist Party's main strategy in 1999. That same year, protests by Falun Gong has been to unleash the energy of the people, at practitioners made headlines; a few years latleast in the economic sense. In today's China, er the outbreak of SARS briefly occupied the government is decentralized, and people can world's attention. freely start businesses, find new jobs, move to But these incidents were most remarkable new homes. After a century of powerful leadfor how little they affected the lives of average ers and political turmoil, Chinese history has become the story of average citizens. Chinese. It was different from the narrative of the 20th century: After 1900, when the Boxer But there are risks when a nation depends Rebellion swept across Beijing, every decade on the individual dreams of 1.3 billion people rather than a coherent political system with included at least one major political upheaval. clear rule of law. China faces an environmen-Usually these events were violent, ranging from the Japanese invasion to the Cultural Revolutal crisis-the nation has become the world's tion to the massacre around Tiananmen Square leading emitter of carbon dioxide, and there's in 1989. Together they made for a troubled cena serious shortage of water and other basic tury, which was why my students wrote so deliresources. The gap between rich and poor cately about the past. has become dangerously wide. The difference Perhaps this awareness of a painful history between urban and rural incomes is greater than was also why the 1990s turned out differently. three to one—the largest since the reforms began It became modern China's first decade without in 1978. Each of these problems is far too broad to be solved, or even grasped, by the average a major upheaval, and thus far the 21st century has also been peaceful. And yet despite the lack citizen. And because the government continues to severely restrict political freedom, people are of political change, the nation has been radically transformed. For three decades the economy accustomed to avoiding such issues. My students taught me that everything was personal-histohas grown at an average annual rate of nearly 10 ry, politics, foreign relations-but this approach percent, and more people have been lifted out of creates boundaries as well as connections. For poverty than in any other country, at any other time. China has become home to the largest many Chinese, if a problem doesn't affect them urbanization in human history—an estimated personally, it might as well not exist. 150 million people have left the countryside, Over the years I've stayed in touch with more mostly to work in the factory towns of the coast. than one hundred of my former students. The By most measures the nation is now the world's cheap onionskin paper is long gone; today largest consumer, using more grain, meat, coal, they communicate by email and cell phone. and steel than the United States. But apart from Most are still teaching, and they live in small

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cities—part of the new middle class. Because of migration, their old villages are dying, like rural regions all across China. "Only old people and small children are left at home," a woman named Maggie recently wrote. "It seems that the countryside now is under Japanese attacks, all the people have fled."

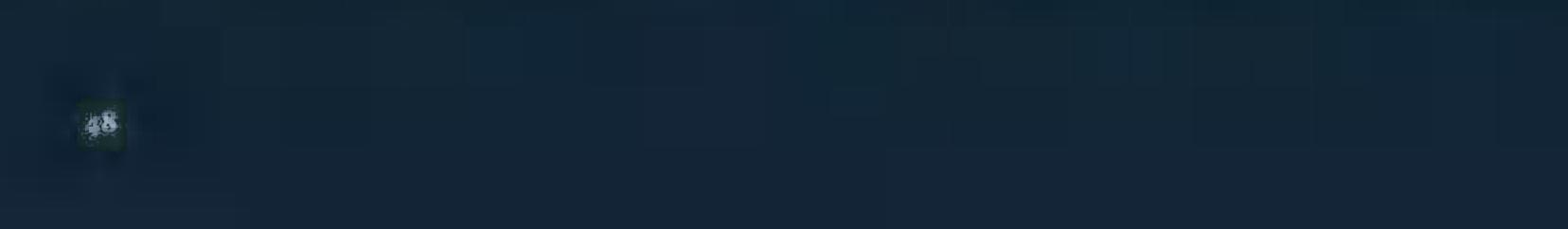
Although my students were patient with the flaws of their elders, today they seem to feel a greater distance from the young people they teach. "When we were students there wasn't a generation gap with the teachers," wrote Sally. "Nowadays our students have their own viewpoints and ideas, and they speak about democracy and freedom, independence and rights. I think we fear them instead of them fearing us." A classmate pointed out that most of today's students come from one-child homes, and many have been spoiled by indulgent parents. "We had a pure childhood," wrote Lucy. "But now the students are different, they are more influenced by modern things, even sex. But when we were young, sex was a tatoo for us." Recently I sent out a short questionnaire asking how their lives have changed. Responses came from across the country, ranging from Zhejiang Province on the east coast to Tibet in the far west. Most described their material lives as radically different. "When I graduated in 1998, I told my Mum, if I got 600 yuan [about \$70] each month, I would be satisfied," Roger wrote. "In fact I got 400 yuan then, and now each month I get about 1700 yuan." When I asked about their most valuable possession, 70 percent said that they had bought an apartment, usually with loans. One had recently purchased a car. They were still optimistic. When I asked them to rate their feelings about the future on a scale of one to ten, with ten being the most positive, the average response was 6.5. I asked what worried them the most. Several mentioned relationships; one woman wrote: "The marriage is not safe any more in China, it is more common for people around here to break up." A couple of respondents who now work far

wrote. But the most common source of worry seemed to be mortgage payments. "Ten years ago, I worried that I could not have a good and warm family," Belinda wrote. "Now I am worried about my loan at the bank." None of her classmates expressed concern about political reform, foreign relations, or any other national issue. Nobody mentioned the environment.

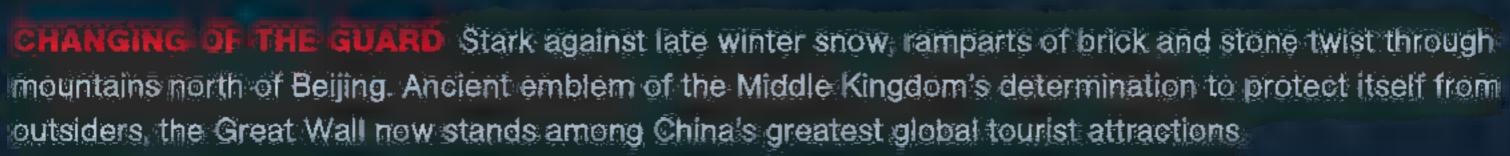
FOR YEARS I didn't hear from Vanessa. Finally, half a decade after I had taught her, I received an email. She had found a sales position with a company that produced electronic components: "I am changed a lot. I am in Shenzhen now, which is a big city in China.... Do you know American companies like America II or Classic components corp? They are our customers. I am little proud to have opportunity to co-operate with them. Because they are very big companies in the world, President Bush even visited America II last year. And the big reason I like my work now is I can use my language I learned." The next time I was in Shenzhen, we met in the lobby of the Shangri-La Hotel. "Did you see my car?" Vanessa said, and then she looked disappointed that I had missed her arrival. She explained that her fiancé had just given her the vehicle as a gift. "He's the boss of my company," she said. She was still quite pretty, and I couldn't help but conjure a stereotypical boss image: a leering man in his 50s, smoking Chunghwa cigarettes and shouting into a cell phone. But I said I'd like to meet him. "Oh, he's waiting," Vanessa said. "He had to drive, because I don't have my license yet. I've been too busy!" We walked outside. In the parking lot sat a silver BMW Z4 3.0i convertible coupe-in China, a hundred-thousand-dollar car. I peered inside: no cigarettes, no cell phone. Crew cut, acne, rumpled clothes. He smiled politely, stepped out of the car, and shook my hand. The company boss was all of 27 years old.

from home were concerned about their status as migrants. "I am like a foreigner in China," Willy CHINA'S JOURNEY 47

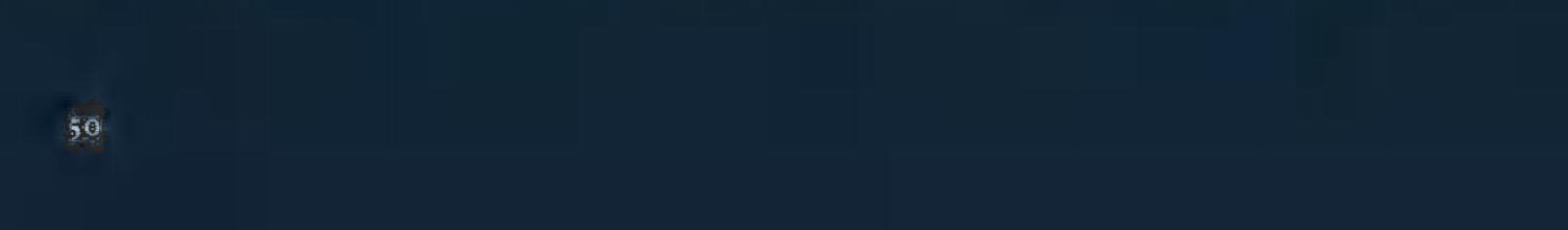






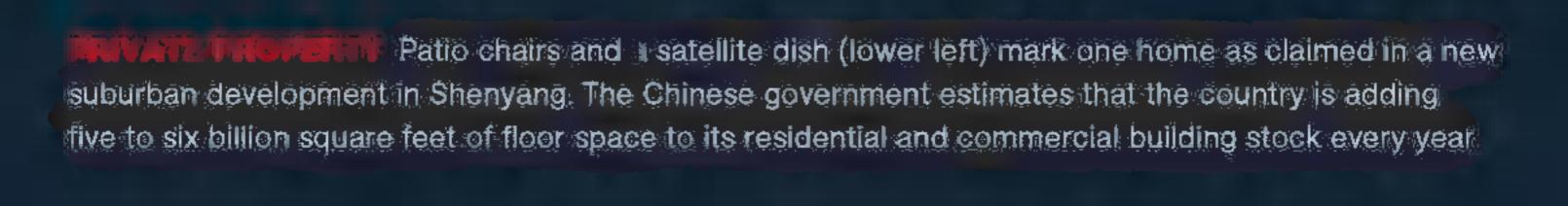




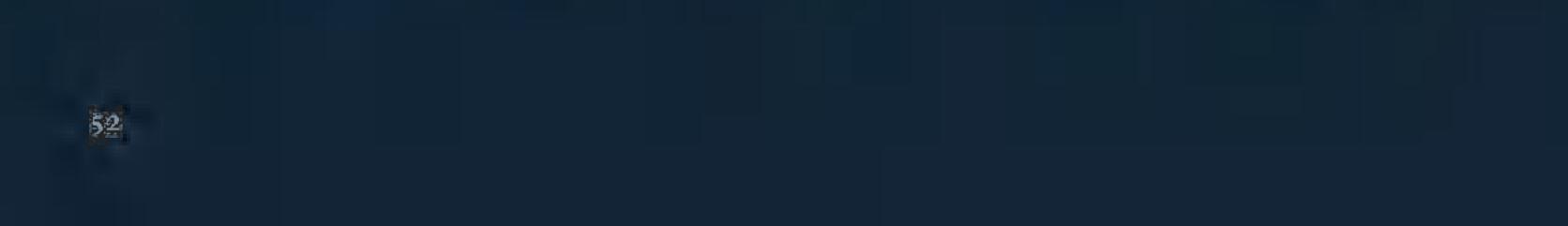




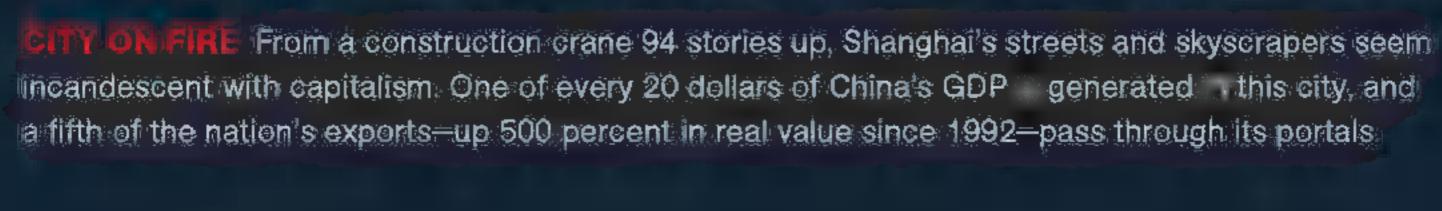
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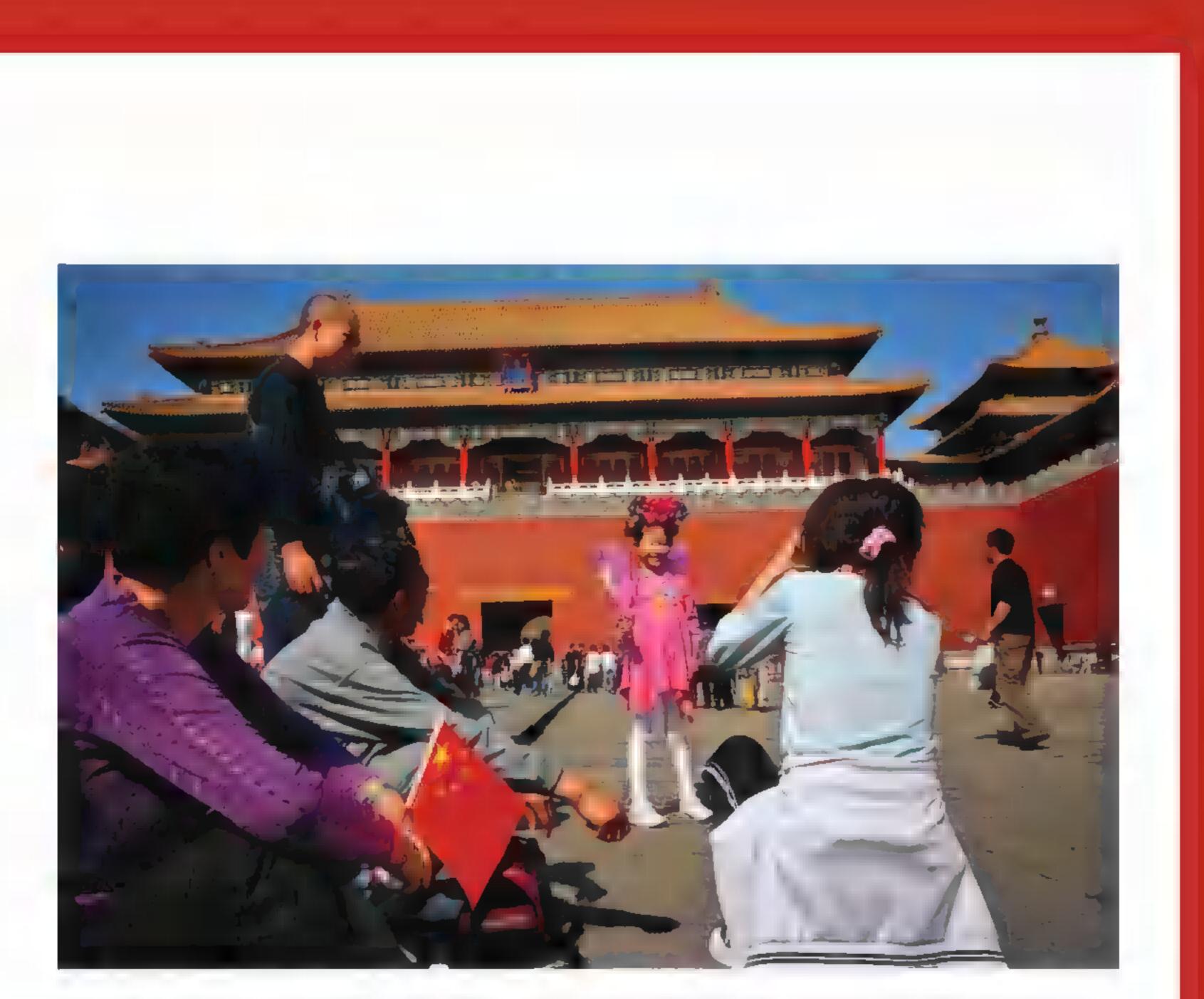






China's one-child policy created a generation of only children that numbers 90 millions 119 baby boys are born for every 100 girls. The number of unmarried young mencalled bare branchesis predicted to be 30 million by 2020.45 percent of Chinese women surveyed say they do not want to give up their careers to get married. Three in ten Chinese families have grandparents living in the same household. Beijing enforces a one-dog policy that prohibits pets more than 14 inches high.

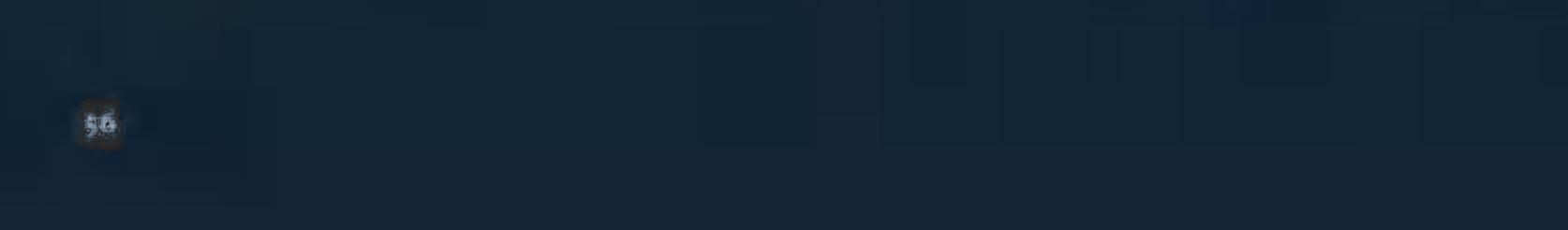




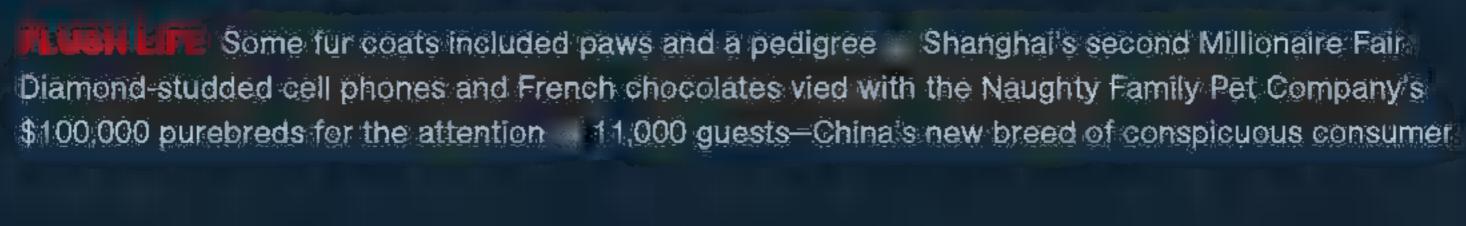
Sporting a souvenir headdress, purple wings, and a wand, grinning eight-year-old Zhou Yingqi poses for her mother before the Forbidden City. The family traveled more than 600 miles from Daqing to Beijing for the October National Day holiday celebrating the 1949 founding of the People's Republic of China.







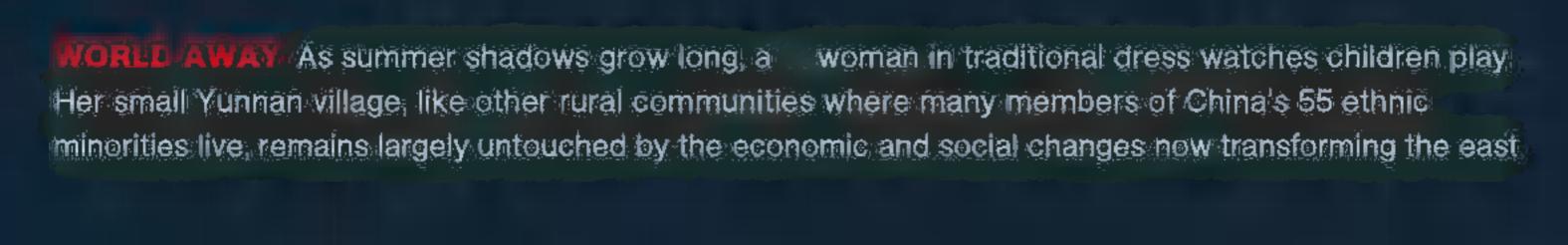




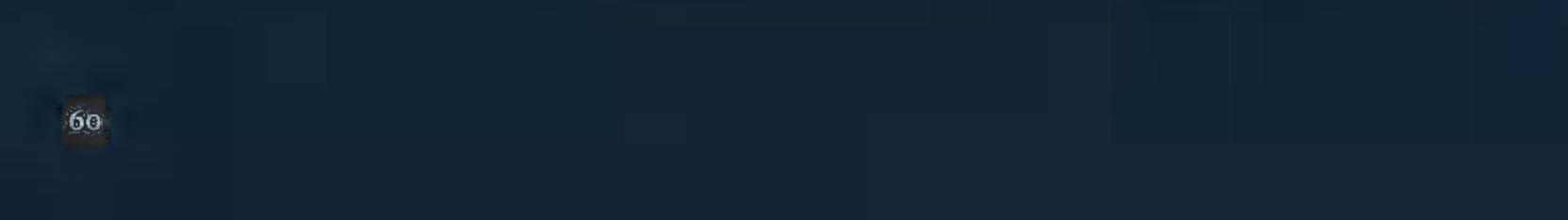




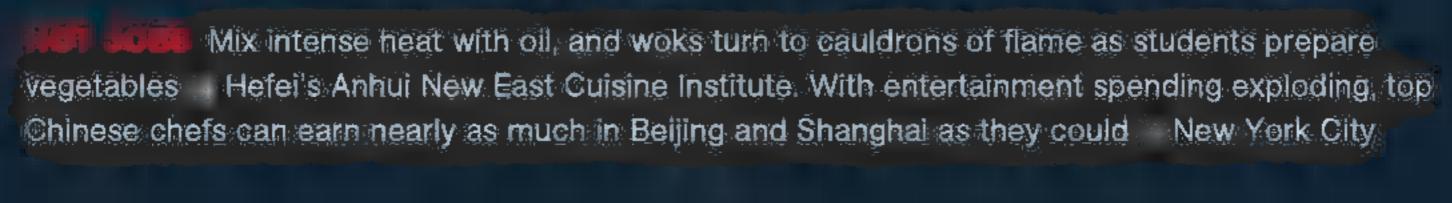






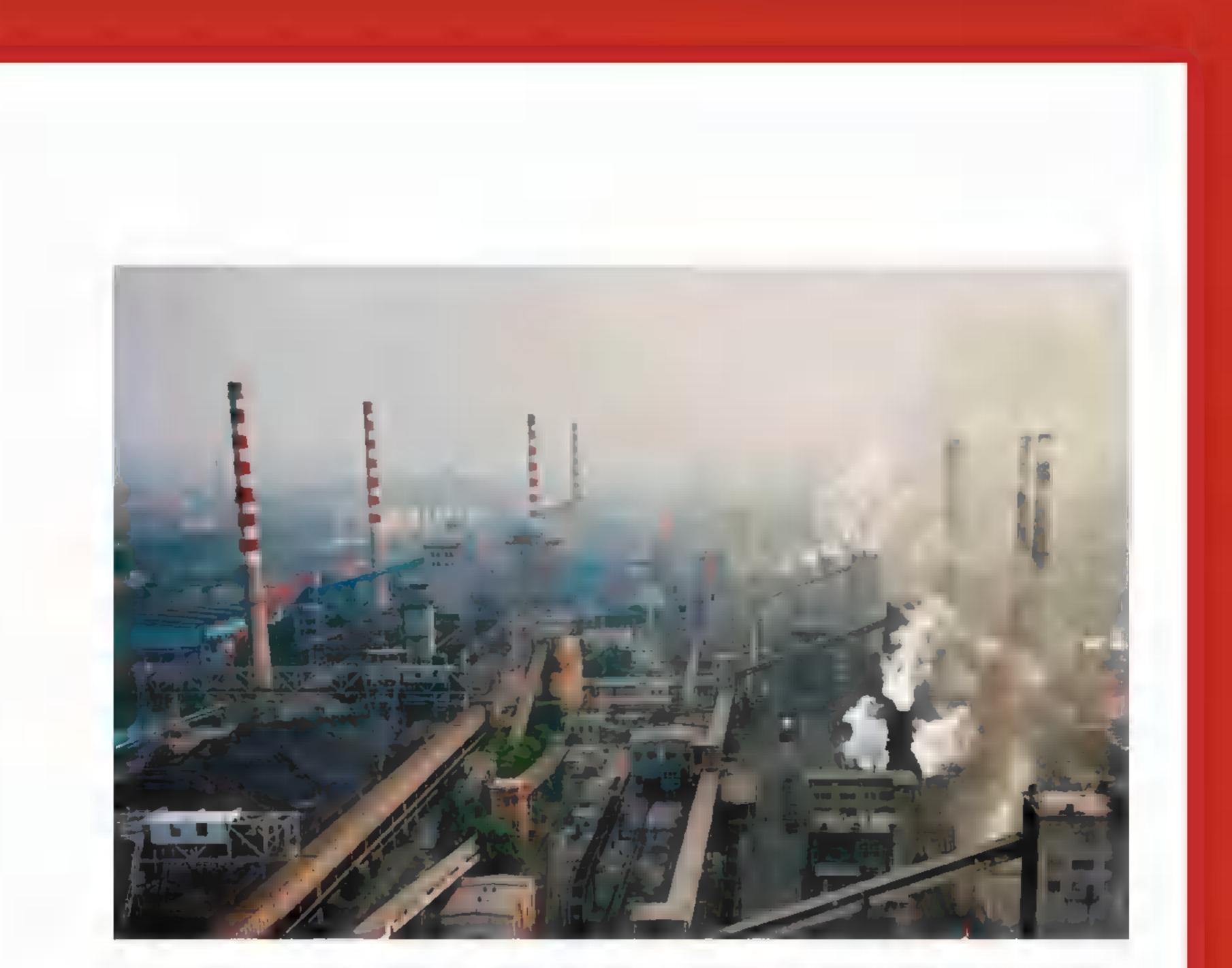






China expected to overtake the U.S. as the world's largest economy in ten years. China has the world's highest number of annual deaths triggered by air pollution. Urban Chinese earn more than three times as much as those in rural areas, the highest income gap since the start of reforms in 1978 Public protests rose by 50 percent last year. One in four residents of Beijing is a migrant from the country, 67 percent of millionaires surveyed say they are sacrificing health for money.

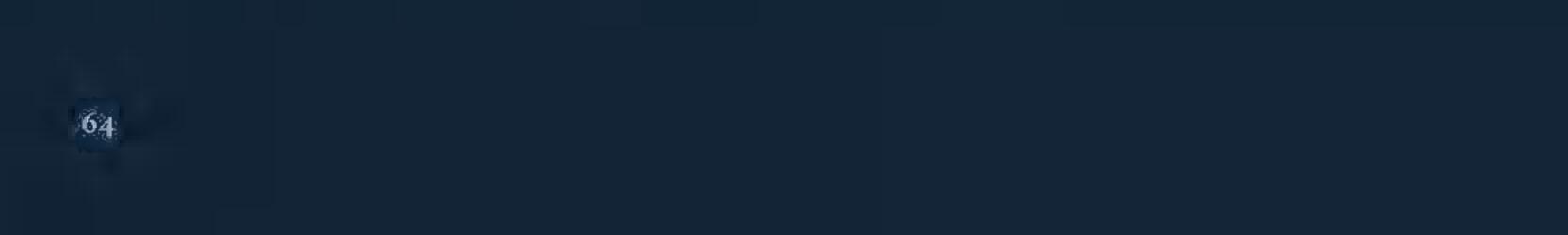




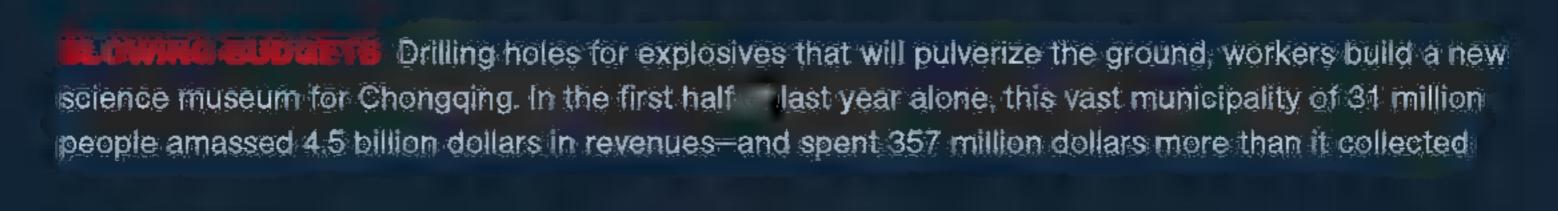
In a fog of its own noxious waste, the gargantuan Anshan metalworks in Liaoning Province churns out millions of tons of steel each year. China produces—and consumes—nearly a third of the world's steel, more than longtime industrial powers Japan, Germany, and the United States combined.







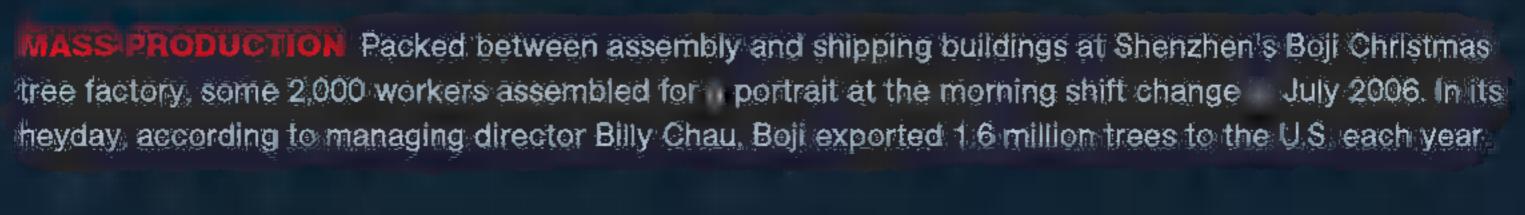














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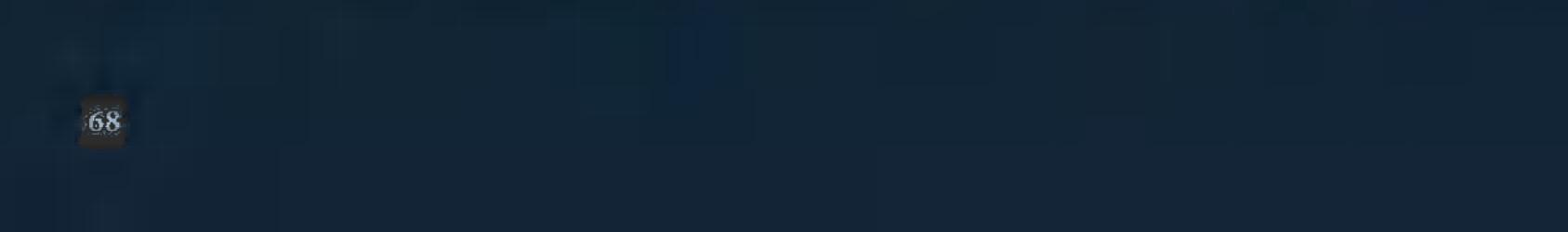
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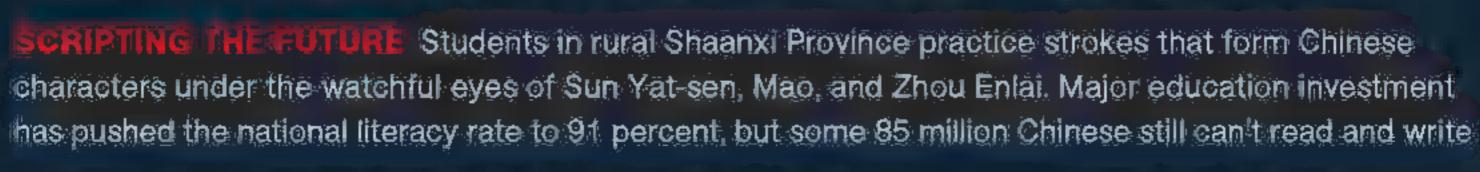
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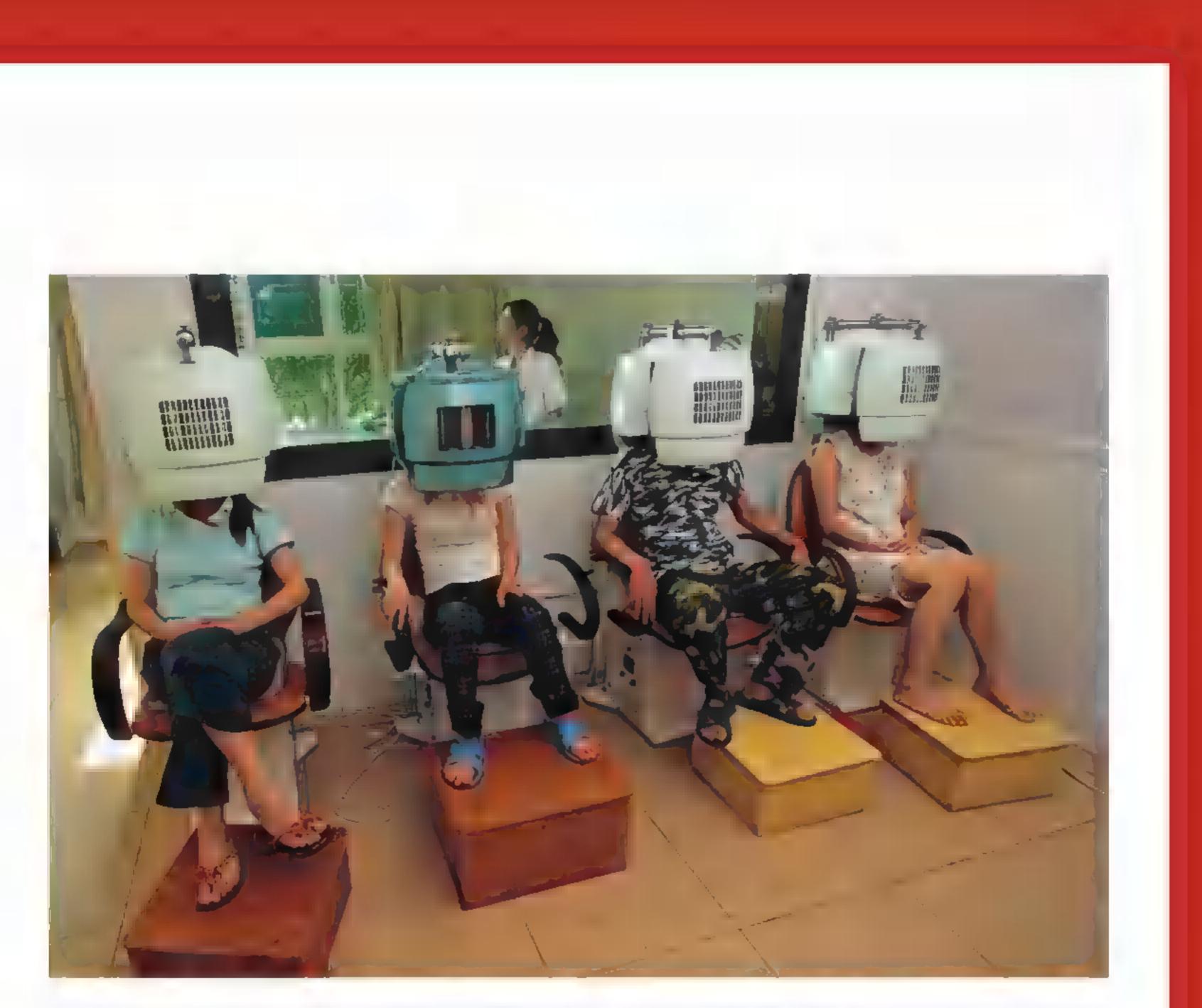






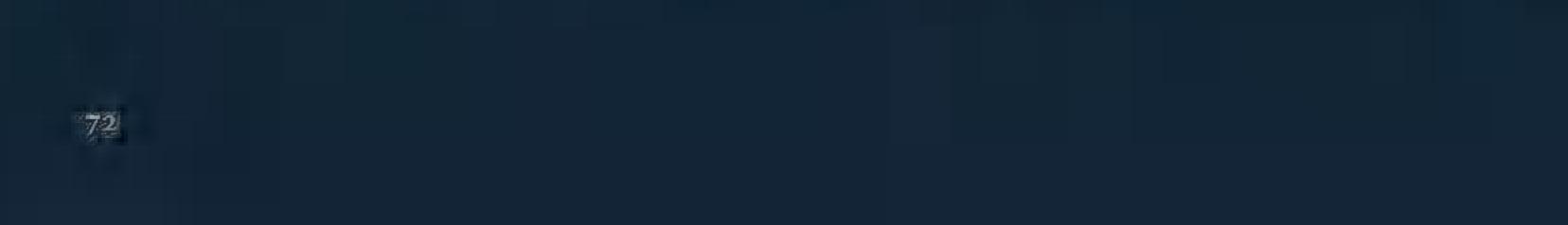
China has the world's largest number of Internet users-220 millionsurpassing Web surfers in the U.S. Authorities have added 171 new pop culture phrases to China's national language registry. 31 percent of Chinese 16 or older say they are religious, four times the official estimate a de ago. Cell phones in China have grown from 87 million in 2000 to 432 million today, 32 percent of Chinese say the Internet broadens their sex life, compared with 11 percent in the U.S.



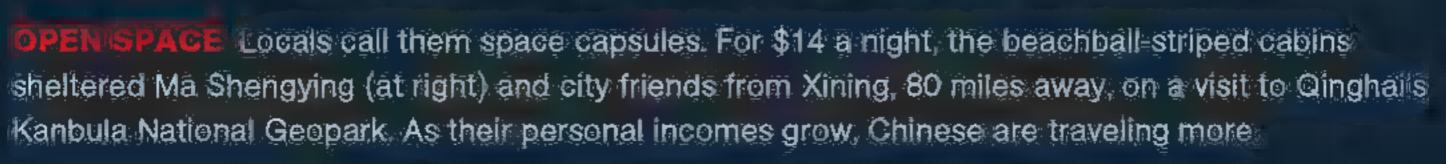


Therapists in Guangzhou use what they call "nanometer wave machines" to treat addictions. One patient (second from right) is part of a program for Internet addicts—young Chinese so devoted to gaming and other online activities that parents and government officials fear for their health, and their sanity.

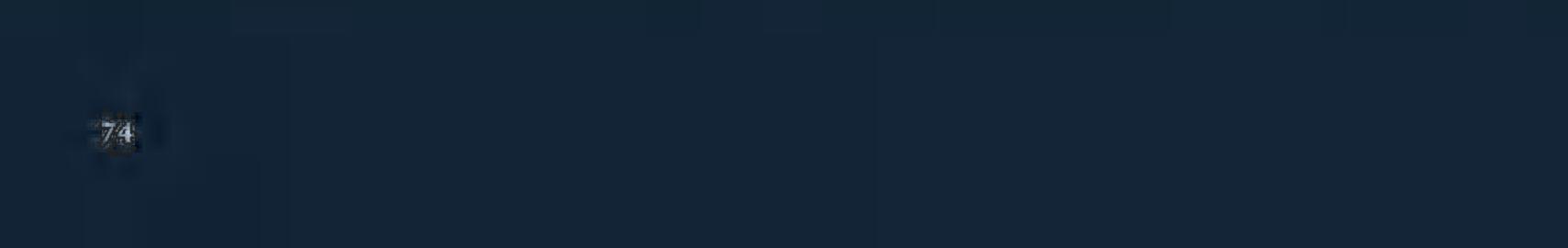




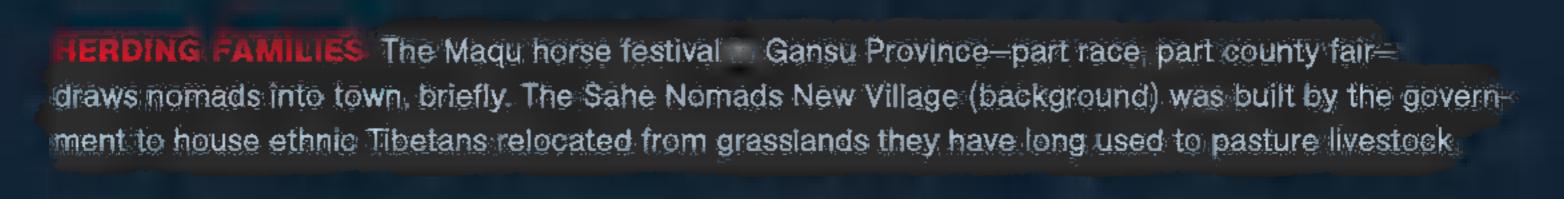




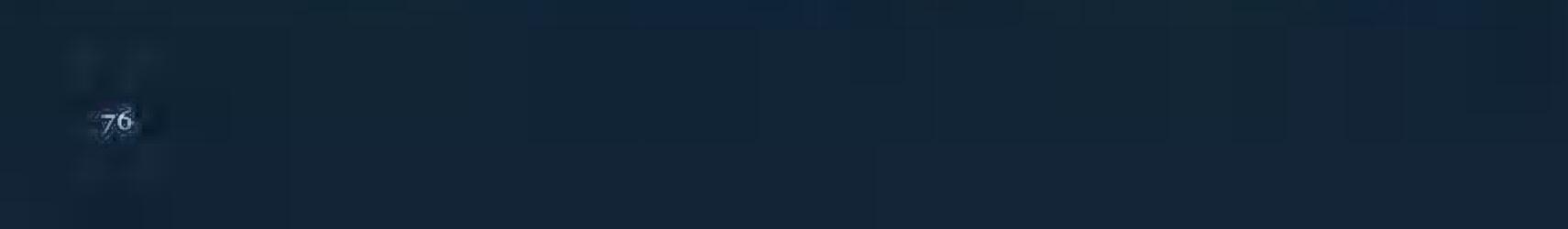




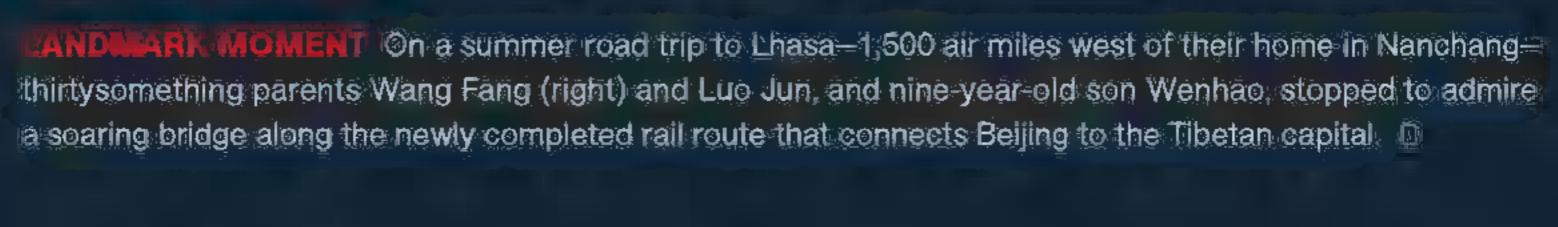














Twentysomethings with money to burn congregate at the Babyface club on Guangzhou's



one of the club's most popular drinks.

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China's sudden prosperity brings undreamed-of freedoms and new anxieties

GILDED AGE GILDED CAGE



BY LESLIE T. CHANG PHOTOGRAPHS BY RANDY OLSON

AT THE AGE OF FOUR, Zhou Jiaying was enrolled in two classes—Spoken American English and English Conversation—and given the English name Bella. Her parents hoped she might go abroad for college. The next year they signed

her up for acting class. When she turned eight, she started on the piano, which taught discipline and developed the cerebrum. In the summers she went to the pool for lessons; swimming, her parents said, would make her taller. Bella wanted to be a lawyer, and to be a lawyer you had to be tall. By the time she was ten, Bella lived a life that was rich with possibility and as regimented as a drill sergeant's. After school she did homework unsupervised until her parents got home. Then came dinner, bath, piano practice. Sometimes she was permitted television, but only the news. On Saturdays she took a private essay class followed by Math Olympics, and on Sundays a piano lesson and a prep class for her entrance exam to a Shanghai middle school. The best moment of the week was Friday afternoon, when school let out early. Bella might take a deep breath and look around, like a man who discovers a glimpse of blue sky from the confines of the prison yard. For China's emerging middle class, this is an age of aspiration—but also a time of anxiety. Opportunities have multiplied, but each one brings pressure to take part and not lose out, and every acquisition seems to come readywrapped in disappointment that it isn't something newer and better. An apartment that was renovated a few years ago looks dated; a mobile phone without a video camera and color screen is an embarrassment. Classes in colloquial English are fashionable among Shanghai schoolchilwho grew up in a stable socialist society; sometimes it feels more like a never ending struggle not to fall behind. A study has shown that 45 percent of Chinese urban residents are at health risk due to stress, with the highest rates among high school students.

Fifth grade was Bella's toughest year yet. At its end she would take entrance exams for middle school. Every student knew where he or she ranked: When teachers handed back tests, they had the students stand in groups according to their scores. Bella ranked in the middle-12th or 13th in a class of 25, lower if she lost focus. She hated Japan, as her textbooks had taught her to: The Japanese army had killed 300,000 Chinese in the 1937 Nanjing massacre. She hated America too, because it always meddled in the affairs of other countries. She spoke a fair amount of English: "Men like to smoke and drink beer, wine, and whiskey." Her favorite restaurant was Pizza Hut, and she liked the spicy wings at KFC. Her record on the hula hoop was 2,000 spins. The best place in the world was the Baodaxiang Children's Department Store on Nanjing Road. In its vast stationery department, Bella would carefully select additions to her eraser collection. She owned 30 erasers-stored in a cookie tin at home-that were shaped like flipflops and hamburgers and cartoon characters; each was not much bigger than a thumbnail, and all remained in their original plastic packaging. When her grandparents took her to the same store, Bella headed for the toy section, but not when she was with her parents. They said she was too old for toys. If Bella scored well on a test, her parents bought her presents; a bad grade brought a clampdown at home. Her best subject was Chinese, where she had mastered the art of the composition: She

dren, but everything costs money.

could describe a household object in a morally

Freedom is not always liberating for people

uplifting way.

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Chinese society is changing so fast that children and parents inhabit different worlds. "They are open-minded," says 15-year-old Bella Zhou of her parents, "but there is still a generation gap."

Last winter Grandmother left her spider plant outdoors and forgot about it.... This spring it actually lived. Some people say this plant is lowly, but the spider plant does not listen to arbitrary orders, it does not fear hardship, and in the face of adversity it continues to struggle. This spirit is worthy of praise.

She did poorly in math. Extra math tutoring was a constant and would remain so until the college entrance examination, which was seven years away. You were only as good as your worst subject. If you didn't get into one of Shanghai's top middle schools, your fate would be mediocre classmates and teachers who taught only what was in the textbook. Your chances of getting into a good high school, not to mention a good college, would diminish.

the world worked even if you were only ten years old.

THE PAST DECADE has seen the rise of something Mao sought to stamp out forever: a Chinese middle class, now estimated to number between 100 million and 150 million people. Though definitions vary-household income of at least \$10,000 a year is one standard-middle-class families tend to own an apartment and a car, to eat out and take vacations, and to be familiar with foreign brands and ideas. They owe their well-being to the government's economic policies, but in private they can be very critical of the society they live in.

The state's retreat from private life has left people free to choose where to live, work, and travel, and material opportunities expand

You had to keep moving, because staying year by year. A decade ago most cars belonged in place meant falling behind. That was how to state enterprises; now many families own

GILDED AGE 81

one. In 1998, when the government launched reforms to commercialize the housing market, it was the rare person who owned an apartment. Today home ownership is common, and prices have risen beyond what many young couples can afford—as if everything that happened in America over 50 years were collapsed into a single decade.

But pick up a Chinese newspaper, and what comes through is a sense of unease at the pace of social change. Over several months in 2006, these were some of the trends covered in the Xinmin Evening News, a popular Shanghai daily: High school girls were suffering from eating disorders. Parents were struggling to choose a suitable English name for their child. Teenage boys were reading novels with homosexual themes. Job seekers were besieging Buddhist temples because the word for "reclining Buddha," wofo, sounds like the English word "offer." Unwed college students were living together. Parents struggle to teach their children but feel their own knowledge is obsolete; children, more attuned to social trends, guide their parents through the maze of modern life. "Society has completely turned around," says Zhou Xiaohong, a sociologist at Nanjing University who first noticed this phenomenon when his own father, a retired military officer, asked him how to knot a Western tie. "Fathers used to give orders, but now fathers listen to their sons." Because their parents have such high hopes for them, children are among the most pressured, inhabiting a world that combines old and new and features the most punishing elements of both. The traditional examination system that selects a favored few for higher education remains intact: The number of students entering college in a given year is equal to 11 percent of the college-freshman-age population, compared with 64 percent in the United States. Yet the desire to foster well-rounded students has fed an

explosion of activities—music lessons, English, drawing, and martial arts classes—and turned each into an arena of competition.

Such pursuits bring little pleasure. English ability is graded on five levels stretching through college, and parents push children to pass tests years ahead of schedule. Cities assess children's piano playing on a ten-level scale. More than half of preteens take outside classes, a survey found, with the top reason being "to raise the child's future competitiveness."

Parents tend to follow trends blindly and to believe most of what they hear. The past is a foreign country, and the present too.

Because parents have such high hopes for them, children

Leslie T. Chang lived in China for a decade. Her book Factory Girls will be coming out later in 2008. Randy Olson, who has been named both Magazine are among the most pressured, inhabiting a world that combines old and new—and the most punishing of both.

"WE ARE A TRADITIONAL FAMILY" was how Bella's mother, Qi Xiayun, introduced herself when I first met her in 2003. She was 33 years old with the small, pale face of a girl, and she spoke in a nonstop torrent about the difficulty of raising a child. She teaches computer classes at a vocational college; her husband works in quality control at Baosteel, a state-owned company. They were appointed to those jobs after college, as part of the last generation to join the socialist workforce before it started to break apart.

Bella's parents met the old-fashioned way, introduced by their parents. But after they had Bella in 1993, they turned their backs on tradition. They chose not to eat dinner with their in-laws every night and rejected oldfashioned child-rearing methods that tend to coddle children.

When Bella was not yet two, her grandmother offered to care for the baby, but her mother wor-

and Newspaper Journalist of the Year, has been

shooting for National Geographic for 15 years.

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ried that the grandparents would spoil her. Bella went to day care instead. When she entered third grade, her mother stopped picking her up after school, forcing her to change buses and cross streets alone. "Sooner or later she must learn independence," her mother said.

So Bella grew up, a chatty girl with Pippi Longstocking pigtails and many opinions-too many for the Chinese schoolroom. In second grade she and several classmates marched to the principal's office to demand more time to play; the protest failed. Her teachers criticized her temper and her tendency to bully other children. "Your ability is strong," read a first-grade report card, "but a person must learn from the strengths of others in order to improve." In second grade: "Hope you can listen to other people's opinions more."

The effort to shape Bella is full of contradictions. Her parents encourage her independence but worry that school and the workplace will punish her for it. They fret over her homework load, then pile more assignments on top of her regular schoolwork. "We don't want to be brutal to her," says Bella's father, Zhou Jiliang. "But in China, the environment doesn't let you do anything else." Bella teaches her parents the latest slang and shows them cool Internet sites. When they bought a new television, Bella chose the brand. When they go out to eat, Bella picks Pizza Hut. One day soon, her parents worry, her schoolwork will move beyond their ability to help her. When Bella was younger, her parents began unplugging the computer keyboard and mouse so she wouldn't go online when she was home alone, but they knew this wouldn't last. Recently, Bella's father and his sister and cousins put their grandfather in a nursing home. It was a painful decision; in traditional China, caring for aged parents was an ironclad responsibility, and Bella's parents have extra room in their apartment for their parents to move in some day. But Bella announced that she would one day put her parents in the best nursing home.

the house, take a trip and see the world, and enter the nursing home and live a quiet life there. This is the education my daughter gives me."

I WENT TO SCHOOL WITH BELLA one Friday in her fifth-grade year. She sat up in bed at 6:25, pulled on pants and an orange sweatshirt, and tied a Young Pioneers kerchief around her neck. Her parents rushed through the cramped apartment getting ready for work, and breakfast was lost in the shuffle. Bella's mother walked her to the corner, then Bella sighed and headed to the bus stop alone. "This is the most free I am the whole day."

Today there would be elections for class cadres, positions that mirror those in the Communist Party. "My mother says to be a cadre in fifth grade is very important," Bella said.

"The minute she said that, I thought: It's "You write words wrong, please vote for true, we don't want to be a burden on her," me?" the teacher mimicked. "What have you Bella's father says. "When we are old, we'll sell left out?"

The bus dropped us off at the elite Yangpu Primary School, which cost \$1,200 a year in tuition and fees and rejected 80 percent of its applicants. Her classroom was sunny and loud with the roar of children kept indoors. It had several computers and a bulletin board with student-written movie reviews: The Birth of New China, Finding Nemo.

By 8:30 the students were seated at their desks for elections. Their pretty young teacher asked for candidates. Everyone wanted to run.

"This semester I want to change my bad nailbiting habits, so people don't call me the Nail-Biting King," said a boy running for propaganda officer.

"I will not interrupt in class," said a girl in a striped sweater running for children's officer. "Please everyone vote for me."

The speeches followed a set pattern: Name a personal flaw, pledge to fix it, and ask for votes. It was self-criticism as campaign strategy.

Those who strayed from the script were singled out. "My grades are not very good because I write a lot of words wrong," said one girl running for academic officer. "Please everyone vote for me."

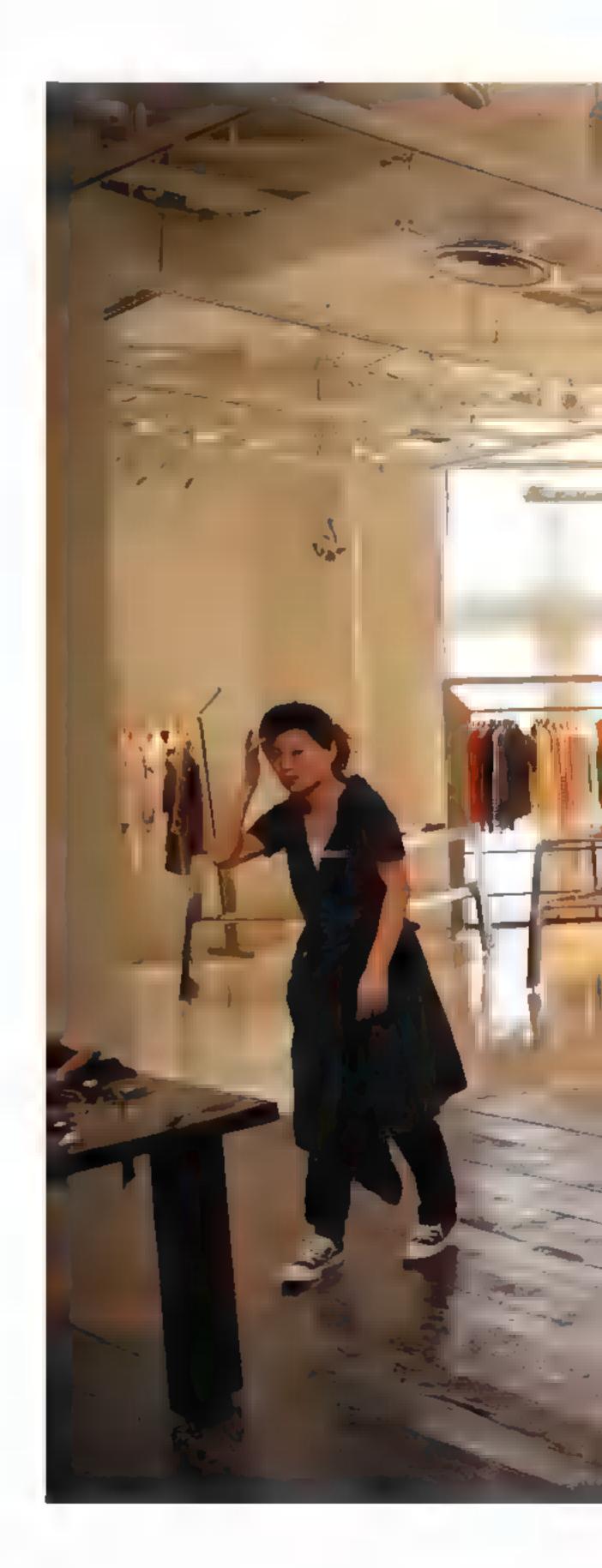


The girl tried again. "I want to work to fix this bad habit. Please everyone vote for me."

Bella delivered her pitch for sports officer. "I am very responsible, and my management abilities are pretty good," she said breathlessly. "Sometimes I have conflicts with other students. If you vote for me, it will help me change my bad habits. Please everyone give me your vote."

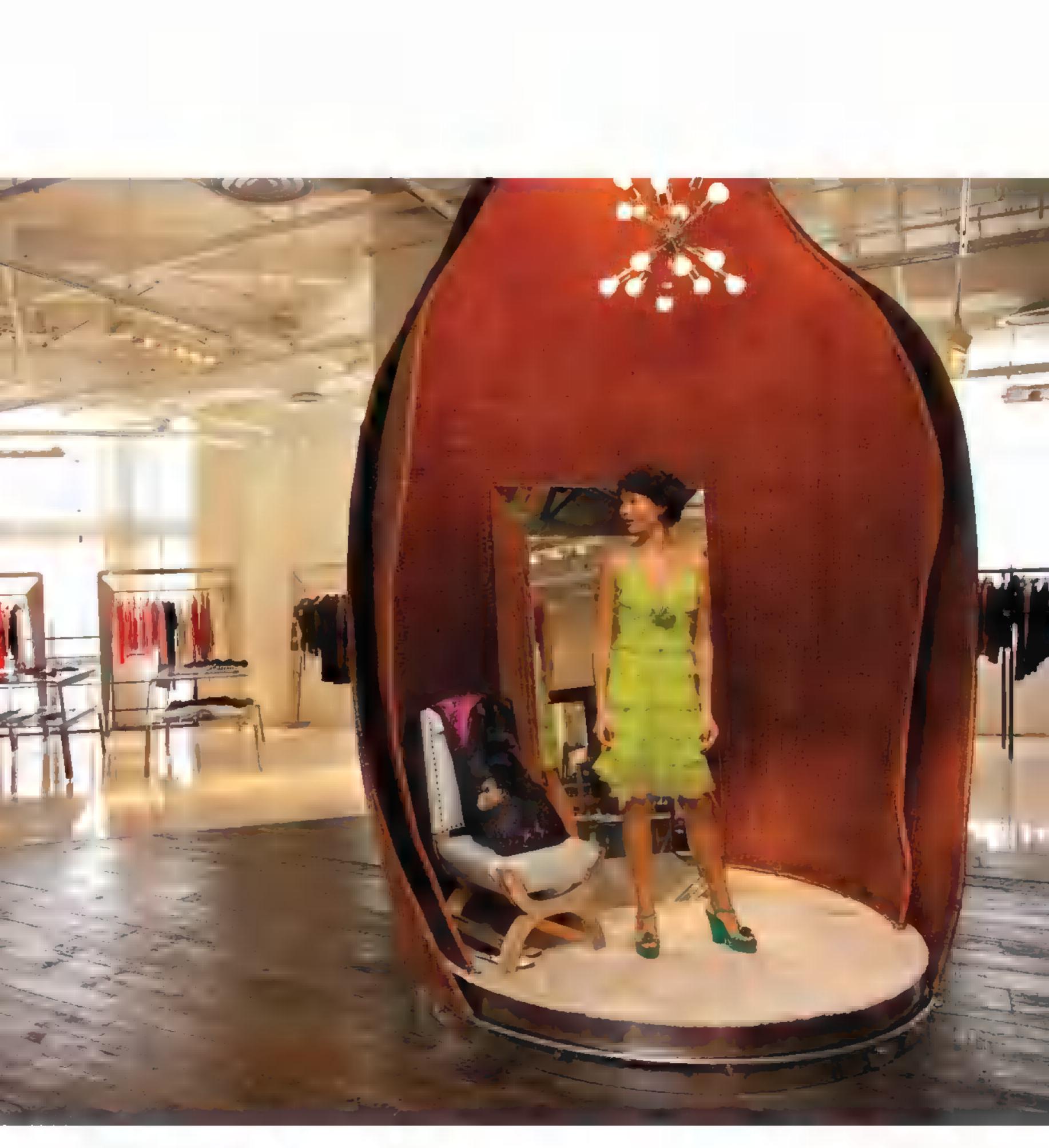
In a three-way race, Bella squeaked to victory by a single ballot. Election day, like everything in school, ended with a moral. "Don't feel bad if you lost this time," the teacher said. "It just means you must work even harder. You shouldn't let yourself relax just because you lost."

THE LANGUAGE OF CHILD EDUCATION is Darwinian-grim. "The elections teach students to toughen themselves," Bella's teacher, Lu Yan, said over lunch in the teachers' cafeteria. "In the future they will face pressure and competition. They need to know how to face defeat." Some schools link teacher pay to student test performance, and the pressure on teachers is intense. Bella's class had recently seen a drop in grades, and the teacher begged parents to help identify the cause. Lu Yan had just gotten her four-year college degree at night school and planned to study English next. All her colleagues were enrolled in outside classes; even the vice-principal took a weekend class on educational technology. A math teacher was fired three weeks into the school year because parents complained she covered too little material in class. Life will not always feel like this. The next generation of parents, having grown up with choice and competition, may feel less driven to place all their hopes on their children. "Right now is the hardest time," says Wang Jie, a sociologist who is herself the mother of an only child. "In my generation we have both traditional and new ideas. Inside us the two worlds are at war."



In math class later that day, the fifth graders whipped through dividing decimals using

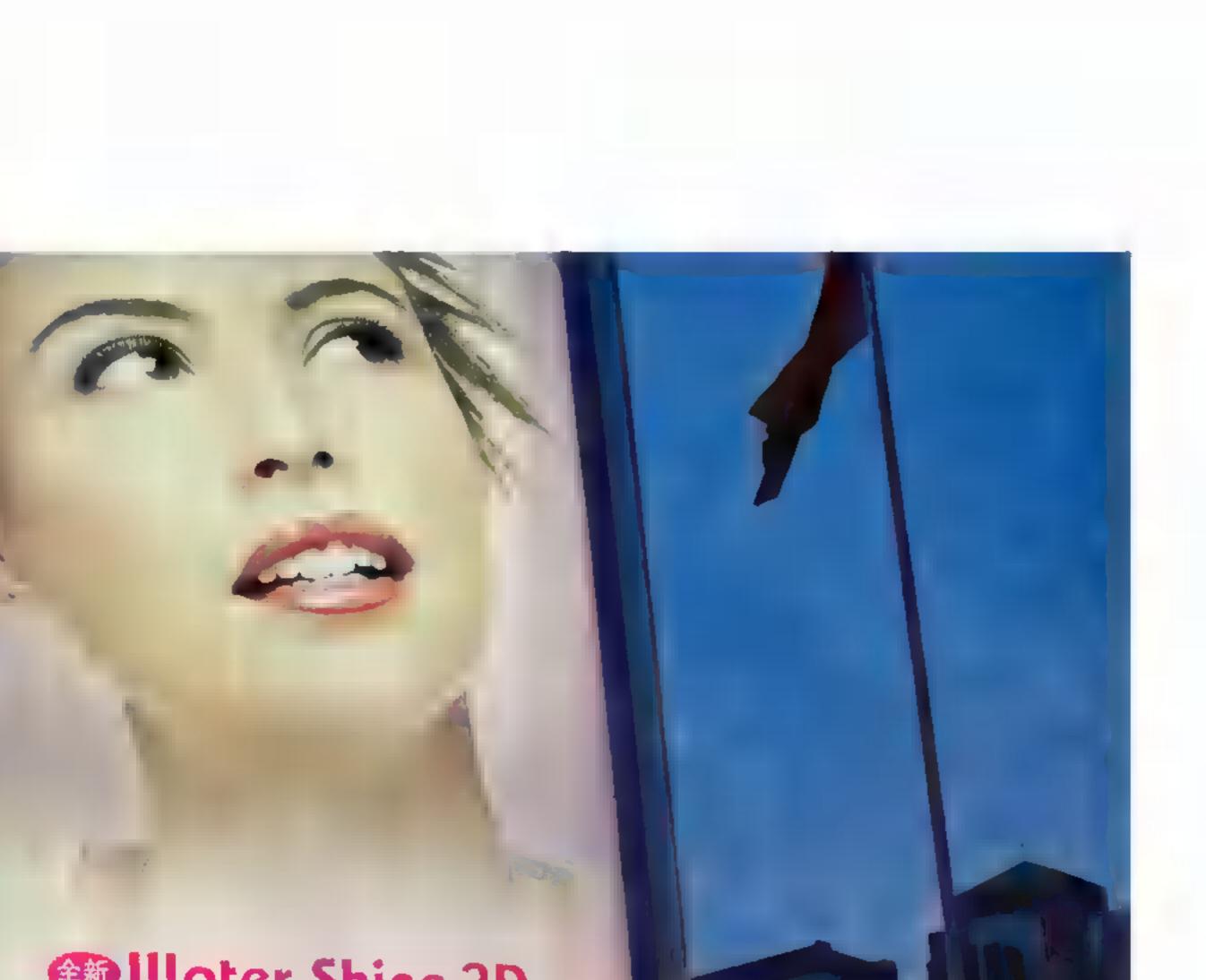
Math Olympics methods, which train kids to use mental shortcuts. (Continued on page 93) 84 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC . MAY 2008



The arrival of Shanghai's Three on the Bund retail complex means 32-year-old headhunter Rachel Zhu (right) no longer has to travel abroad for her favorite designer labels. This green frock had a \$2,200 price tag.







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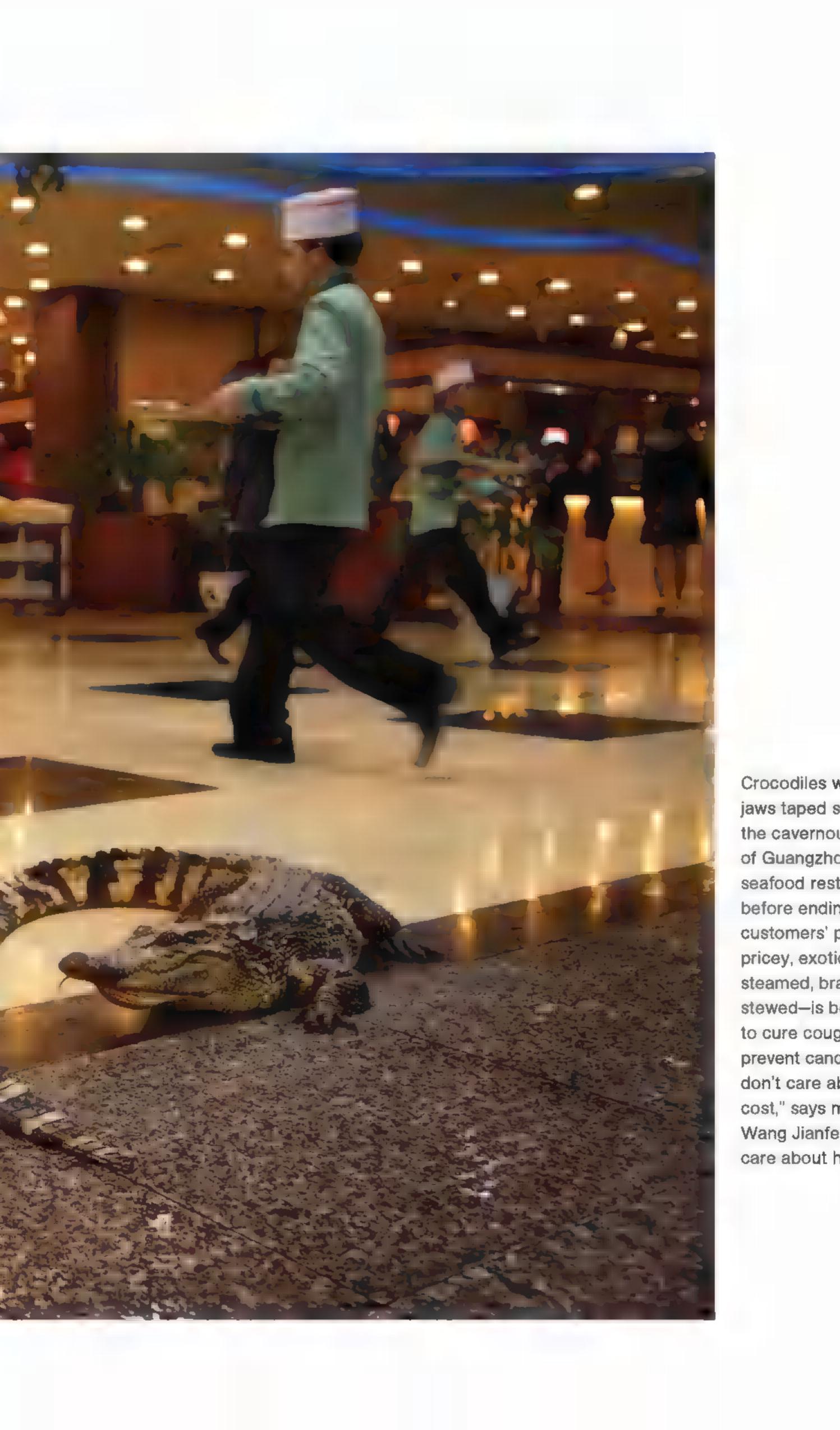
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A mile west of Tiananmen Square, the Xidan district in downtown Beijing has been commercial area crowded with shops since the Ming dynasty.



YORK





Crocodiles with their jaws taped shut roam the cavernous lobby of Guangzhou's Yumin seafood restaurant before ending up on customers' plates. The pricey, exotic meatsteamed, braised, or stewed-is believed to cure coughs and prevent cancer. "People don't care about the cost," says manager Wang Jianfei. "They just care about health."







Health clubs are surging in popularity, partly as an antidote to work stress. The Total Fitness Club, with 11 branches in Guangzhou, offers six kinds of yoga and classes in salsa and pole dancing.

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(Continued from page 84) They raced across a field in gym class, with the slowest person in each group punished with an extra lap around the track. School ended at 1:30 on Fridays. The bus let Bella off outside her building, where she bought a Popsicle and headed inside. Her weekend was packed with private tutoring, so Friday was the best time to finish her homework.

I told her that no American ten-year-old did homework on a Friday afternoon.

"They must be very happy," Bella said.

IN THE FIVE YEARS since I met Bella and her family, their lives have transformed. They moved into a new three-bedroom apartment-it is almost twice the size of their old one, which they now rent out-and furnished it with foreign brand-name appliances. They bought their first car, a Volkswagen Bora, and from taking the bus they went straight to driving everywhere. They eat out a couple of times a week now, and the air-conditioner stays on all summer. At age 12, Bella got her first mobile phone-a \$250 Panasonic clamshell in Barbie pink. Her parents' annual income reached \$18,000, up 40 percent from when we first met. As the material circumstances of Bella's family improved, the world became to them a more perilous place. Their cleaning lady stole from them and disappeared. Several friends were in near-fatal car accidents. One day Bella's father saw her holding a letter from a man she'd met online. Bella's parents changed the locks and the phone number of the apartment. Her father drove her to and from school now because he thought the neighborhood around it was unsafe. Bella's mother took on more administrative responsibilities at work and enrolled in a weekend class to qualify to study for a master's degree. Bella's father talked about trading in their car for mewer model with better acceleration and more legroom. They frequently spoke of themselves as if they were mobile phones on the verge of obsolescence. "If you don't continue to

upgrade and recharge," Bella's father said, "you'll



GILDED AGE 93

Social mobility ran in both directions. A friend of Bella's mother stopped attending class reunions because he was embarrassed to be a security guard. A company run by a family friend went bankrupt, and his daughter, who was Bella's age, started buying clothes at discount stalls. Society was splintering based on small differences. Family members only a decade younger than Bella's parents inhabited another world. One cousin ate out every night and left her baby in the care of her grandparents so she could focus on her career. Bella's father's younger sister, who was childless, thought nothing of buying a full-fare plane ticket to go somewhere for a weekend. Friends who were private entrepreneurs were having a second child and paying a fine; Bella's parents would probably be fired by their state-owned employers if they did that. Bella tested into one of Shanghai's top middle schools, where teachers often keep students past five in the evening while their parents wait in cars outside. She is level three in English and level eight in piano. She still ranks in the middle of her class, but she no longer has faith in the world of adults. She disdains class elections now. "It's a lot of work," she says, "and the teacher is always pointing to you as a role model. If you get in trouble and get demoted, it's a big embarrassment." She loves Hollywood films-especially Star Wars and disaster movies—and spends hours online with friends discussing Detective Conan, a character from Japanese comic books. She intends to marry a foreigner because they are richer and more reliable. Her parents no longer help with her homework; in spoken English she has surpassed them. They lecture her to be less wasteful. "When she was little, she agreed with all my opinions. Now she sits there without saying anything, but I know she doesn't agree with me," her mother said one afternoon in the living room of their new apartment, as Bella glared without speaking. "Our child-raising has been a failure." In China, there is no concept of the rebellious

completely at sea when it comes to raising their children. Newspapers run advice columns, their often rudimentary counsel-"Don't Forcibly Plan Your Child's Life" is a typical headline suggesting what many parents are up against. Some schools have set up parent schools where mothers, and the occasional father, can share frustrations and child-raising tips.

At times educators go to extremes: At the Zhongguancun No. 2 Primary School in Beijing, vice-principal Lu Sugin recently took two fifth-grade boys into her home. "Their parents couldn't get them to behave, so they asked me to take them," she explains. "After they learn disciplined living, I will send them back."

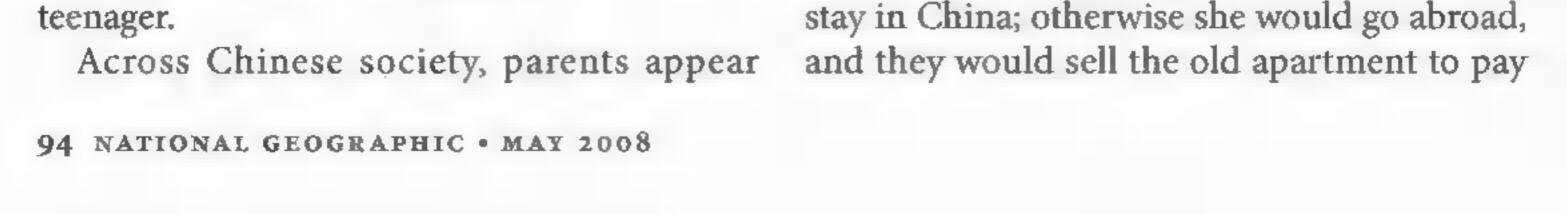
Life will not always feel like

this. The next generation of parents, having grown up with choice and competition, may feel less driven to place all their hopes on their children.

BELLA HAD ONE FREE DAY during the 2006 weeklong National Day holiday. Some of her extended family-seven adults and two children-took a trip to Tongli, a town of imperial mansions an hour's drive from Shanghai. Bella's father hired a minibus and driver for the trip; a friend had just been in a car accident and broken all the bones on one side of his body. Bella sat alone reading a book.

Developing China zipped past the window, city sprawl giving way to a booming countryside of fish ponds and factories and the three-story houses of prosperous farmers. Bella's mother indulged in the quintessential urban dream of a house in the country. "You have your own little yard in front," she said. "I'd love to live in a place like that when we retire."

She was thinking seriously about Bella's future. If she tested into a good college, she should



for it. She had decided that Bella could date in college. "If she finds someone suitable in the third or fourth year of college, that's fine. But not in the first or second year."

"And not in high school?" I asked.

"No. Study should be most important."

Tongli was mobbed with holiday visitors. Bella's family walked through its courtyards and gardens like sleepwalkers, admiring whatever the tour guides pointed out. They touched the trunk of the Health and Long Life Tree. They circled a stone mosaic said to bring career success. They could not stop walking for an instant because crowds pressed in from behind. It was the biggest tourist day of the year.

Bella politely translated for a great-aunt visiting from Australia who didn't speak Chinese, but it was just an act. "This is boring," she told me. "Once you've seen one old building, you've seen them all." "Just because they're curious to see something doesn't mean they want it for themselves," says Zhang Kai, Bella's middle-school teacher. "Maybe they will try something—dye their hair, or pierce an ear—but in their bones, they are very traditional. In her heart Zhou Jiaying is very traditional," he says, and he uses Bella's Chinese name.

BELLA IS 15 NOW, in the ninth grade. She has good friends among her classmates, and she has learned how to get along with others. School is a complicated place. One classmate bullied another boy, and the victim's parents came to school to complain. Because they were politically influential, they forced the teacher to transfer the bully out of the class.

The incident divided Bella's class, and now her friends in the Tire Clique won't speak to her friends in the Pirate Clique. A friend got into school without taking the entrance exam because her mother's colleague had a cousin in the education bureau. Bella's teacher nominated some students for membership in the Communist Youth League. Bella thought it meaningless, but she fell into line and pulled an application essay off the Internet. She couldn't afford to get on her teacher's bad side, she told me, citing a proverb: "A person who stands under someone else's roof must bow his head." The high school entrance exam is a month away. In the evenings Bella's father watches television on mute so he won't disturb her studies. A good friend is also an enemy because they vie for the same class rank. Her compositions describe what the pressure feels like: I sit in my middle-school classroom, and the teacher wants us to say good-bye to childhood. I feel at a loss. Happiness is like the twinkling stars suffusing the night sky of childhood. I want only more and more stars. I don't want to see the dawn.

I sat with her on the ride home. She was deep into a Korean romance novel.

"It's about high school students," she said. "Three boys chasing a girl."

"Do people have boyfriends and girlfriends in high school?" I asked.

"Yes."

"What about middle school?"

"Yes. Some."

"Do you have a boyfriend?"

She wrinkled her nose. "There's a boy who likes me. But all the boys in my grade are very low-class."

She wanted to go to Australia for graduate school and to work there afterward. She could make more money there and bring her parents to live with her. "On the surface China looks luxurious, but underneath it is chaos," Bella said. "Everything is so corrupt."

Some observers of Chinese society look at children like Bella and see political change: Her generation of individualists, they predict, will one day demand a say in how they are governed. But the reality is complicated. Raised and educated within the system, they are just as likely

as they have done all along.

Middle Class on the Move See photos of

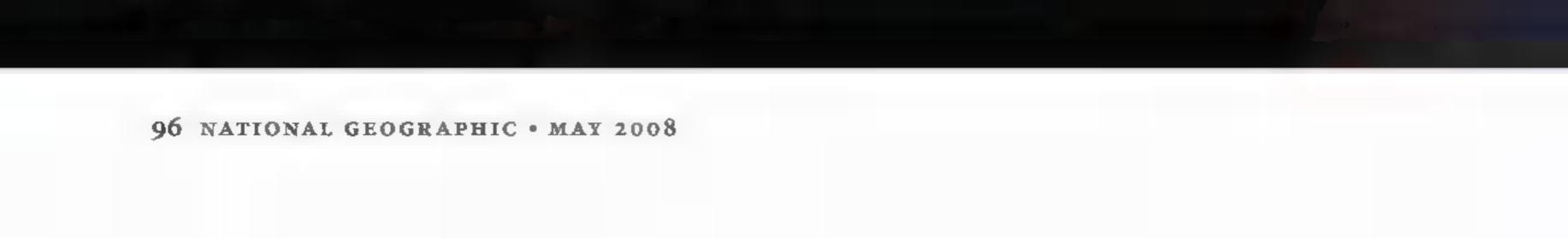
to find ways to accommodate themselves to it, Wal-Mart China and check out the money-versus-

iove debate at ngm.com.

GILDED AGE 95



Susanne Shu, a TV documentary producer, returns from a wedding-dress fitting with Australian fiance Campbell McLean. Several of her friends have married foreign men. "China developing very fast, and a lot of people are coming here," says Shu, 34, "so there are more opportunities for us."

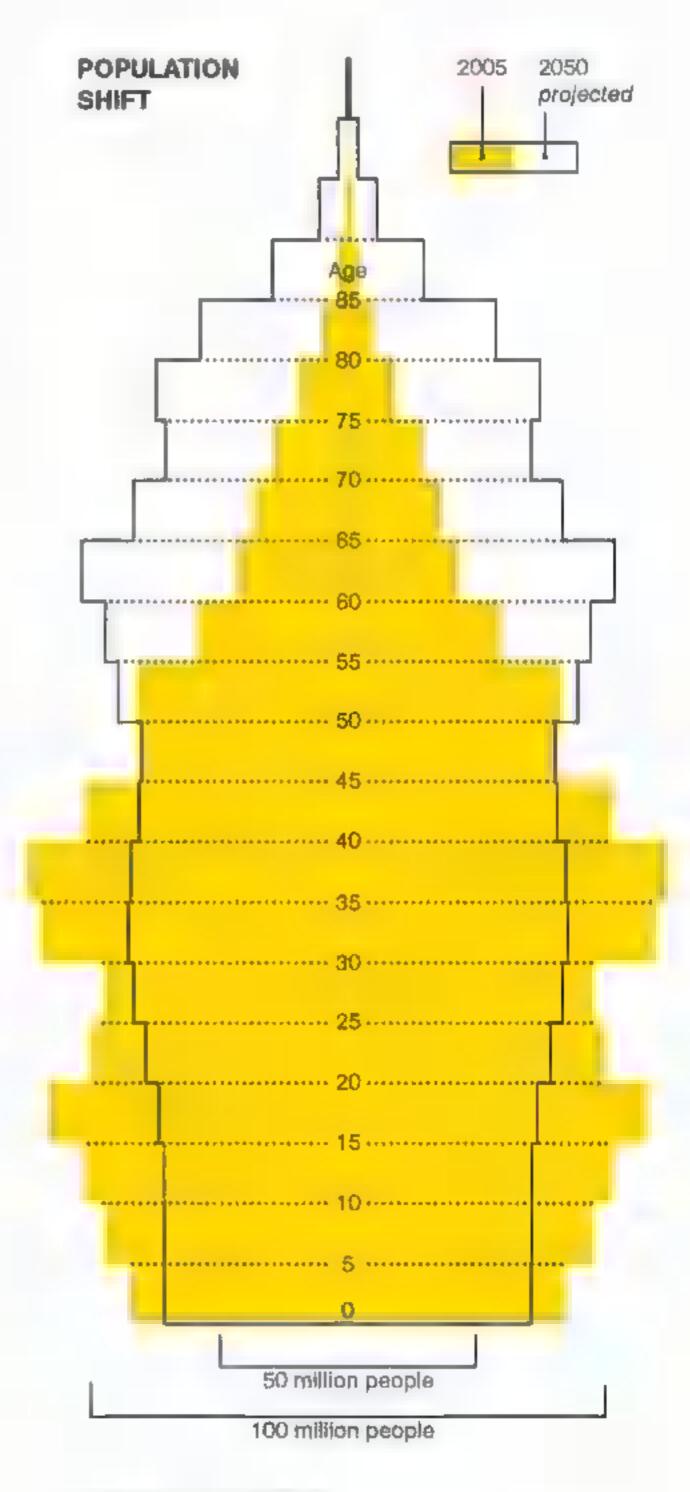






SHRINKING WORKFORCE

It's the biggest demographic revolution in history: The number of China's elderly is ballooning thanks to improvements in medicine and sanitation, while the number of people born after the government's one-child policy went into effect in 1979 is dwindling. China's immense workforce, key to today's boom, will shrink after



2015. The country should be able to fill jobs by continuing to tap underemployed rural laborers. But by 2050 close to a third of China's citizens will be over 60—three times the current proportion. With little social security and few pensions to ease the burden, China's only children will have to support two parents (and in many cases four grandparents) apiece—a heavy load even for urban factory workers, who typically save a quarter of their wages.

-Karen E. Lange

CHARLES M BLOW, NG STAFF SOURCE, POPULATION DIVISION, UNITED NATIONS



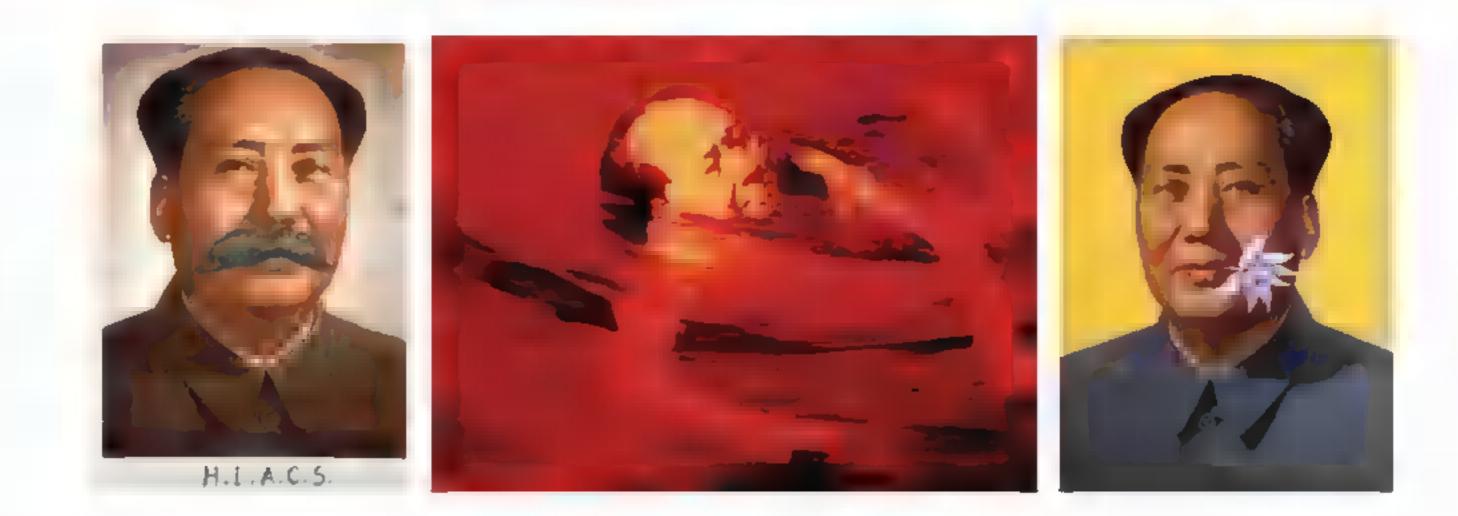


Artist Li Wei photographed **a** baby rising from a hole in the earth as a way to depict new life in a changing world-one in which children without siblings will support both parents.

"THE BABY THAT LEAVES FROM THE EARTH" BY LI WEI (ABOVE)

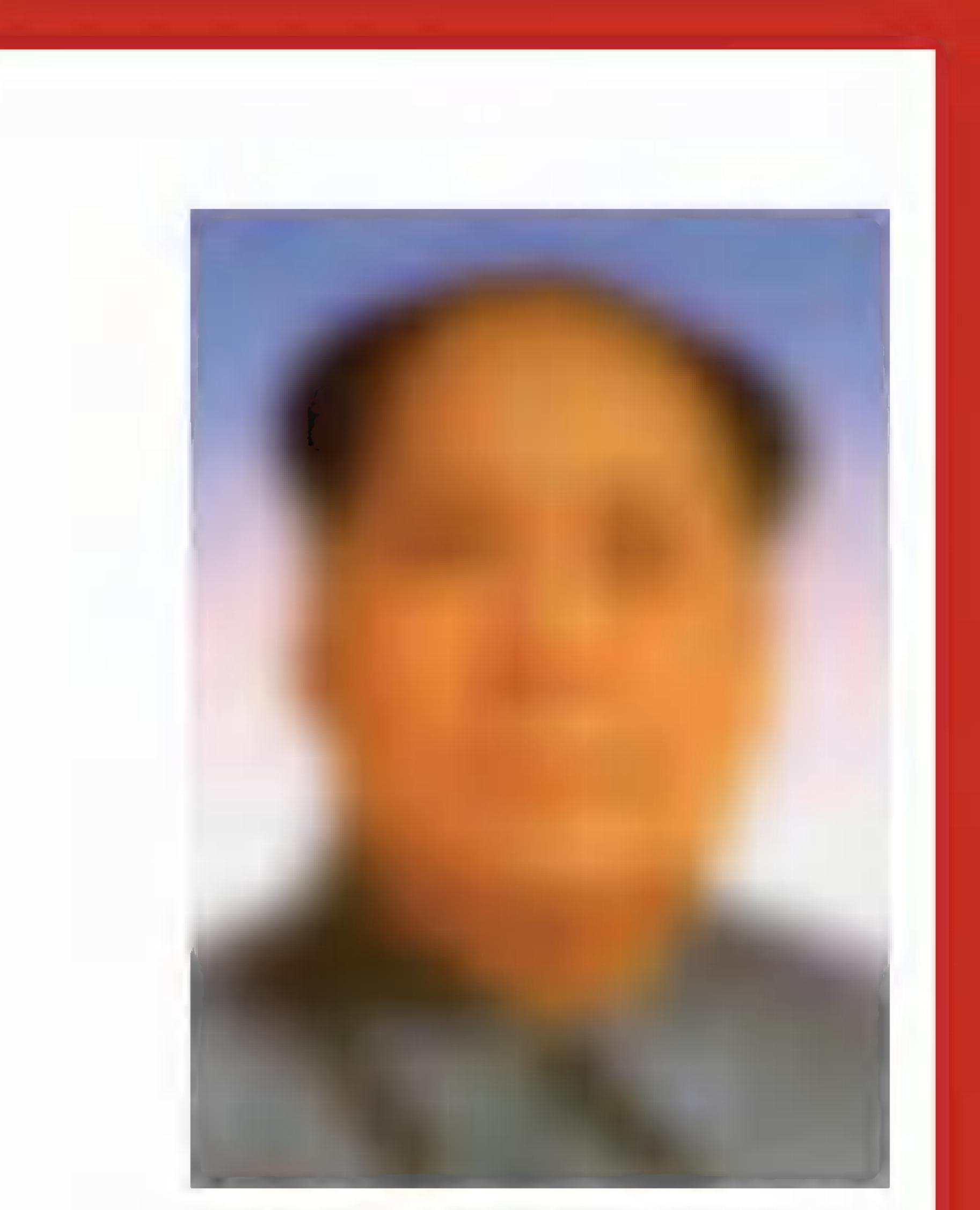


MAO NOW



Surely Mao must be spinning in his crystal coffin. The founder of the People's Republic of China, who decreed "there is no such thing as art for art's sake," has himself become an objet d'art. As attention shifts from making revolution to making money, and intellectuals debate Mao's legacy as hero or villain, artists cash in on politically charged, tongue-in-cheek (and flower-oncheek) versions of the Buddha-like face. Some images are too charged: Gao Qiang's "Swimming Mao" was banned. "The government was unable to undergo the moral test," Gao says. Even before he became the darling of art galleries, Mao had been crowned the king of kitsch; his image decorates T-shirts and watches. The great leap forward from Red Guard to avant-garde probably began with Andy Warhol's 1972 silk screen portraits; one just sold for 17.4 million dollars to, fittingly, a Hong Kong tycoon. Call it the ultimate Chinese brand. –Cathy Newman





The many faces of Mao, from far left: Mao with a Stalinesque mustache; swimming in a blood-red Yangtze River; flower-cheeked; and out of focus.

FROM FAR LEFT: "HE IS A CHINESE STALIN" BY ZHANG HONGTU: "SWIMMING MAO" BY GAO DIANG; "MAO" BY LI SHAN; "MAO ZEDONG'S PORTRAIT 2005" BY HUANG YAN

VILLAGE ON THE EDGE OF TIME

For a thousand years the lives of the Dong people have resounded with song. Their distinctive culture endures but for how long?

Five-year-old Wu Lianlian visits her family's hillside rice field with her hair ablaze in store-bought frifis-

a sign that the outside world has reached the once

isolated farming community of Dimen

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which the way there a constant which students spinsh in the preview without their sectors were stored a term townpour. When record to saving storms in odes the village this past summer, the childher happing coshiled around on boards as if they mere canoes

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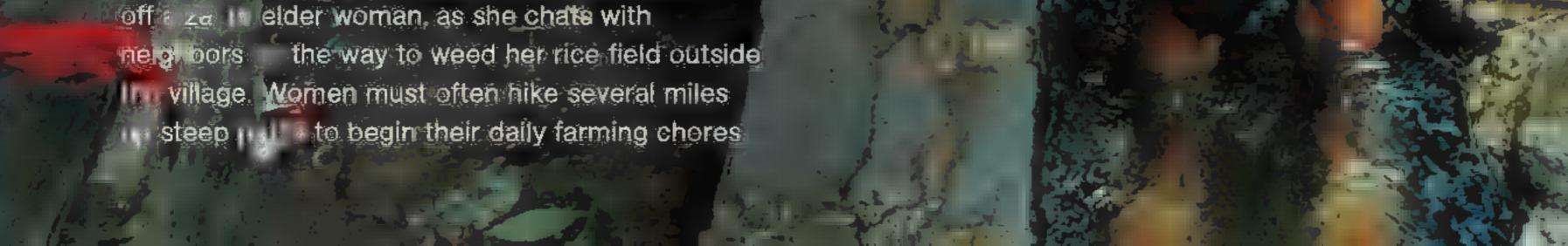
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and makeshift coat keep the rain





BY AMY TAN PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNN JOHNSON

THE SUN WAS ALREADY LOW and the air still hot when I arrived at the tall ceremonial gate that led into the village. From the top of the dirt



road, my eyes took in a valley in mid-harvest:

a patchwork of pale green fields brushed with

gold, broken by dark waves of upswept roofs. Against the mountainsides, rice fields were stacked like mossy pancakes.

Without warning, two ten-year-old girls ran up and locked elbows with mine, singing their welcome in staccato rhythm as they escorted me over a flagstone path through a maze of threestoried homes made of wood. Turbaned grannies watched from their porches. Three grizzled men wearing old-style Mao caps looked up from their pipes. A huddle of children followed. The girls led me past grain sheds, which stood on stilts over pens of fleshy pigs and ponds of ducks. Under a few sheds I saw what looked like three or four decorative cabinets lying on their sides. They were vessels to the underworld, made-toorder coffins, carved from trees that had been selected when their future owners were born.

I had arrived in Dimen, home to five clans and 528 households of the Dong minority, an enclave nestled in the luxuriant mountains of

Amy Tan often travels to China to visit family; Dimen will feature in her next novel. Lynn Johnson's favorite assignments involve chronicling ordinary lives. **108 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC • MAY 2008**

Guizhou. The province is poor and remote. Proof of the latter was hammered into my spine during an eight-hour bus ride over a winding road, some of it washed out by mud slides. A severe drought two years before had been followed by flash floods. This year the long harvest days were oppressively hot. One of my new Dong friends quoted a Guizhou saying: "Not three feet of flat land, not three days without rain, not a family with three silver coins." I imagined that was often muttered by Mao's followers when the Long March in 1935 took them up into the wild slopes and damp creases of Guizhou.

I had been lured to Dimen by the music.

The Dong people have no written form of their



Toughened by a lifetime of fieldwork, the hands of a za provide loving care for her grandson, who wears a traditional hat adorned in silver. Many young adults now live elsewhere for their jobs, leaving their children in Dimen to be raised by grandparents.

language, Kam. Songs are the record of traditions and a mythic history that is a thousand years old, or so the songs themselves suggest. I had heard that you could ask anyone in a Dong village for a song, and he or she would sing without hesitation. I would hear many: a welcome song about keeping out invaders, melodies about growing old, Dong favorites about feckless lovers. And, as reprised by an old woman, At the far edge of the village we reached a covered bridge that was fanciful, outlandishly so for a small village of rice farmers whose income is less than a hundred dollars a year. The bridge was as formidable as a dragon, with a scaly roof for its body and cupolas for its head and spine. I viewed it with the awe of a child who has just seen a fairy-tale place jump out of a book.

The bridge was actually one of five connecting

the Communist Party hit from the fifties, "The the five clan villages that make up the unified East Is Red." village of Dimen. For their beauty they are called

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I had heard that you could ask anyone in a Dong village for a song, and he or she would sing without hesitation. I would hear many.

flower bridges, and for their practicality, windrain bridges, a handy shelter from the elements. Benches run along both sides of the bridges, making them an ideal resting spot for old comrades, a playground for children, and a work space for carpenters when dark clouds churn.

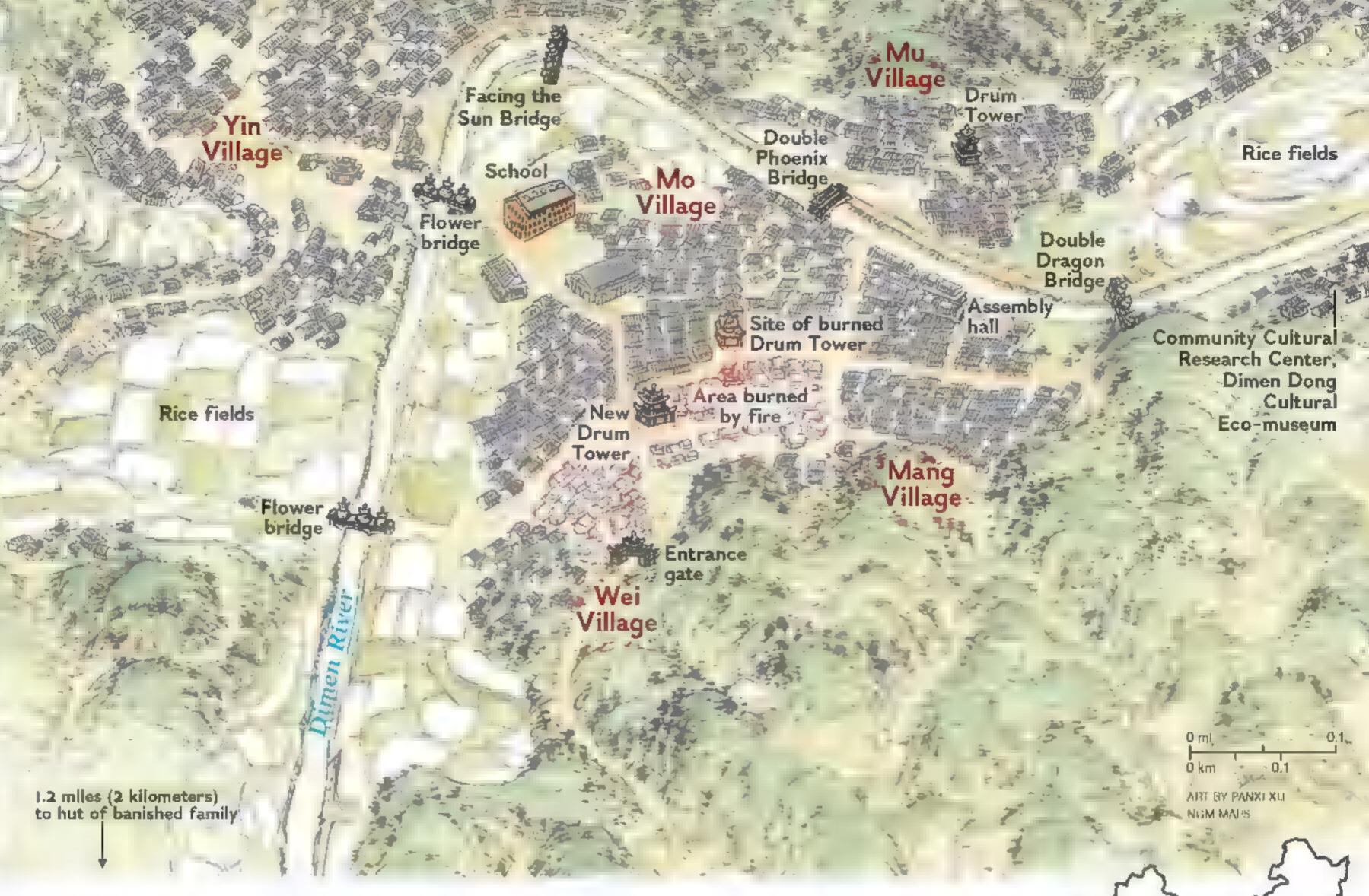
Over the course of three visits to Dimen, two in the autumn, one in the spring, I crossed those bridges many times and saw the colors and hues of daily life: farmers on the way to their fields, children en route to school, old women coming down the mountain with sacks of kindling on their backs. At the main Drum Tower, an airy, five-storied pavilion, the 11 Village Elders preside when there is good news to announce or grievances to air. In the big courtyard rice is laid out to dry in autumn, pigs are slaughtered for feasts, and men play cards on warm nights. Roads with hard ruts turn quickly to soft mud in rain. One afternoon a family pushing a heavy cart over that same road nearly dumped its costly load of bottled beer. Five hundred guests, some from distant provinces, were coming to Da San Zhao, a baby party that cost more than a wedding, this one for a girl only 20 days old. "You come too," they said. People often called out from their doorways: Come to dinner. Come to breakfast. How about lunch? I crossed the flower bridges for many meals. And sometimes I would pause in the middle to face the river straight ahead and look at the mountain that is its source. I always saw people working in the terraced fields, harvesting, planting, plowing, or tending to vegetables grown in the off-season. The farmers had begun the harvest by draining the rice fields, punching holes into the earthen walls that separated them. Water gushed out, and soon hundreds of fish the size of a man's hand lay flopping on the muddy bottom. Earlier, in the spring, the farmers had put carp fingerlings into the fields with the planting. The fish grew with the rice, grooming their watery home of weeds, algae, little snails, the carp fattened up on lovesick moths that had attempted conjugal bliss with their reflections and drowned.

One evening after a sudden storm had knocked out the electricity, I sat on a foot-high stool in a woman's kitchen, trying to be useful by holding a tiny flashlight as she preserved hundreds of pounds of fish. She stuffed the fish with a paste of five flavors, including huajiao, the fiery berry of the prickly ash that gives much of the food in Guizhou its mala, tongue-numbing notoriety. With mala searing your brain, you forget that the weather is hot. For hours she was bent over her task. The next day she was bent over in her field. I asked if her back ever hurt. "It never stops hurting," she said, "because the work never stops." By the New Year the ripened carp would be deemed anyu, the raw fermented fish that adds zest to any meal and is part of every ceremony: for births, weddings, and funerals, for raising the center beam of a new house, for celebrating the steadfast cows. The power of anyu cannot be overestimated. I ran along a cobblestone path one moonless night, following a Feng Shui Master to a pig shed. There he made an offering of sticky rice, chicken, egg, wine, and anyu. He recited an incantation directed to a ganjin, a gremlin with backward feet who lives in the mountain. The ganjin had entered the body of a boy that afternoon and wracked his body with fever and pain. Three minutes after the ceremony the boy's mother came running with the news: "He's already eating!" The Feng Shui Master had learned the incantations from his uncle, an herbalist, who is also the Chief Feng Shui Master, the most experienced, the one who has a constant stream of patients in his kitchen. In the span of an hour, the herbalist saw ten patients, most of them elderly women dressed in traditional clothes, frayed workaday jackets, and head wraps made of cloth they had woven and dyed themselves.

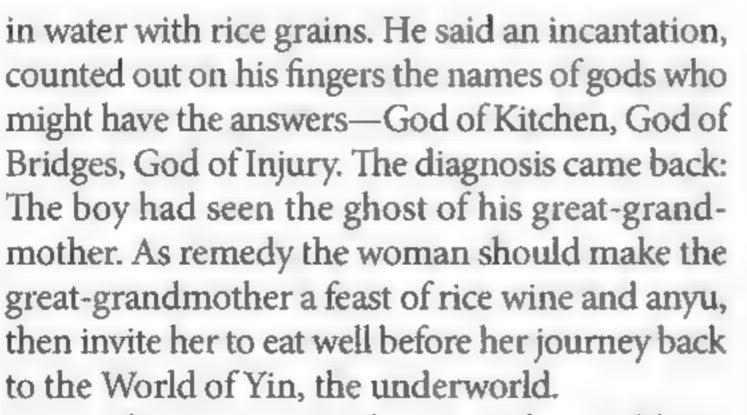
One woman reported that her grandson had

as well as mosquito larvae. Fallen logs were developed sudden pains in the head and stomstained yellow with carp eggs. In the summer ach. The herbalist burned paper and floated ash

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FIVE DONG CLAN VILLAGES—Mang, Mo, Mu, Wei, and Yin—have grown together to form Dimen, a community of over a thousand, in Guizhou Province. The villagers are still recovering from a fire in 2006 that destroyed or damaged about a hundred homes.



Another patient woke up with a stabbing pain in her throat. The herbalist told her she was inhabited by the ghost of a man who had been hanged. A woman whose body hurt all over was inhabited by an ancestor who was unhappy that he never had a tombstone these past 200 years. The herbalist soothed his frightened patients. "Prepare the anyu and wine. I'll come tonight, and the ghost will be gone." For a baby with diarrhea caused by drinking unboiled water, he He charged nothing for his healing services. But his grateful patients gave small gifts, an egg, some rice. He argued with one woman who tried to give him two kwai, about 20 cents, for a rice fortune that would tell her future. "It's too much," he said, and pushed the money back.

Suddenly a young man ran in. His mother had grown worse, and the pigs had also stopped eating. As the Chief Feng Shui Master walked calmly to the patient's home, I ran, struggling to keep up. It was as if he was flying without effort, and I was crawling on stiff knees.

"It's superstition," said a Singing Teacher in his 30s. "It's just the old people who believe in ghosts."

THE OLD PEOPLE still exert considerable influence in the Dimen world. The *za*, or elder women, strap their infant grandchildren to their backs and care for them all day, until the parents



headed to a hillock, where he plucked various

leaves and long grasses to make a potion.

return from work. If the parents work in other

GUIZHOU VILLAGE 111

Known as a flower bridge for its pleasing design, typical span offers shelter from the wind and rain, and seats for contemplating the scenery. Five such structures with unique details—this one named Facing the Sun—convey villagers across Dimen's river.



CALIFORNIA DE LA CALENCIA DE LA CALE



cities, the za raise them from birth and immerse them in Dong ways. They sing songs to them about table manners and field chores, about the moral good of selflessness, and the moral evil of greed. They wash their hair in sour soup. They take them to the clinic, where they are put on IV antibiotic drips for whatever ails them, be it stomachache or runny nose. And if that doesn't cure them, the za go to the Feng Shui Master to learn if they are inhabited by ghosts.

Eleven Village Elders, men over the age of 60, apply reason and reasonability in overseeing social welfare and civil order according to the Dong code of conduct. The oldest of the elders has seen radical changes over the years: from when the communists first came to Guizhou through the period of the Cultural Revolution when the educated youth came to be reeducated as farmers. Seven years ago the first television with a choice of 20 channels made its debut. In other villages satellite dishes sprouted on rooftops like spores after rain. The Village Elders in Dimen found a more sophisticated solution: one large dish shared by a network. The changes seem to come faster each month. In 2006 mobile phones began working in remote areas, and by early 2007 nearly everyone had them. Now you could be plowing your field in the mountains, miles from the village, and receive a call from your wife asking you to pick some wild greens for dinner on your way home. Young men working in other provinces send text messages to their hometown sweethearts. Out of Dimen's official population of 2,372, about 1,200 work and live elsewhere. There are some success stories; many can earn more than \$200 a month. Those who wind up in factories might earn less than half that, still far more than they could earn at home. But they miss the life of Dimen that is sung in songs, the crying cicadas, the fruits of spring, the quiet beauty of the mountains.



In Dimen people sing nearly every day. In classrooms students sit with perfect posture at their desks. They repeat in perfect a cappella pitch what their teacher has just sung. On weekpractice fast-paced songs, each taking a solo. Two gravelly voiced elderly women, respectfully called za by all, guide the younger children in reciting simpler chorals.

One of the za has blue-tinged eyes. At first I thought this was a genetic remnant of outsiders who had come through the region—perhaps foreign traders diverted from the Silk Road. Dimen has had many invaders, the blue-eyed za told me. "In 1920 a Chinese warlord kidnapped my mother's 16-year-old aunt to make her his ninth concubine. No one heard from her again."

ends a troupe of older girls dressed in jeans and pink tops stand before the Singing Teacher and 114 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC • MAY 2008



While carpenters rebuild a house lost in the catastrophic fire, the owners roast a pig for lunch. The county government subsidized traditional wood construction, though most villagers would rather have used brick.

time, she and her family put sticky rice in their baskets and ran into the mountains to hide.

When the za asked me for eyedrops, complaining that her eyes were cloudy, I realized the blue in her eyes was cataracts. Several people had already told me she was the only one who knew all 120 verses of the epic song of Dimen's history, hours of a bluesy repetitive melody. According to this anthem, the original Dong ancestors of Dimen began as a people who wore no clothes. Invaders had driven their descendants to Dimen. "That old song is boring," two The blue-eyed za was 74, but she could lift twice as much kindling as I. She could scamper over uneven rock. She could stride up the mountain, leaving me breathless behind. But what would happen to the epic song after she was gone? What is an unwritten Dong song if there is no one left to remember it? How many other traditions of Dong life would soon be lost? Some losses happen overnight.

IN THE EARLY HOURS of a cold April morning, a bedridden old man dropped his quilt onto the

teenage girls later told me. "We're too busy to learn something we don't like." copper basin of burning charcoal that kept him warm. People heard his screams: "It hurts!" The

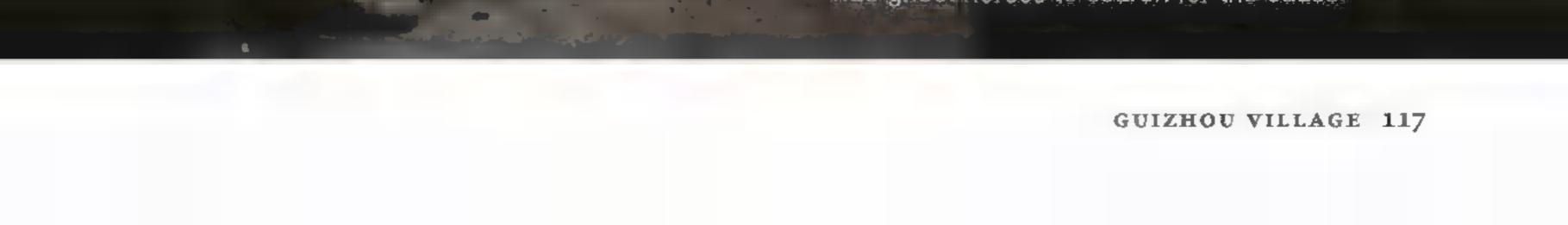
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divination ritual revived after almost three decades aims to restore harmony in Dimen after the fire and other unfortunate events. Amid sprays of water the blindfolded men, in a trance, ride ghost horses to search for the cause.





Wu Lianllan shares a laugh with her mother beside her coffin tree, chosen for her at birth. If she follows tradition, she will have the tree cut down and carved to order when she reaches old age. In a sign of the times, one carpentry shop now sells ready-made coffins (right).

wind was strong that night, and the fire moved in whatever direction the wind pushed it. People fled their homes "without even a pair of shoes," and from the wind-rain bridges they watched their homes burn. The fire brigade from the township below was summoned by a mobile phone call. But when the firefighters attached their hose to a spigot next to the Drum Tower, no water ran out of the broken pipe. The Drum Tower itself was a bonfire.

By sunrise the Drum Tower and 60 homes were smoldering heaps. Forty-four other homes bore scars, from blackened sides to missing boards, or had been torn down to create a firebreak, which ultimately saved the rest of the village. The old man was the only one who died. Only part of his torso remained, his neighbor reported. For days the air smelled of charred wood, burned grain, and roasted pigs.

"I was going to give my silver to my granddaughter," one za told me, as she sat across the if the fire were rising before us with a whoosh. "I cried for four days, without stopping, without eating. When government officials arrived, they came to me first, because I was bawling the loudest. I cried to them, I am the widow of a party secretary, and only my coffin wasn't burned."

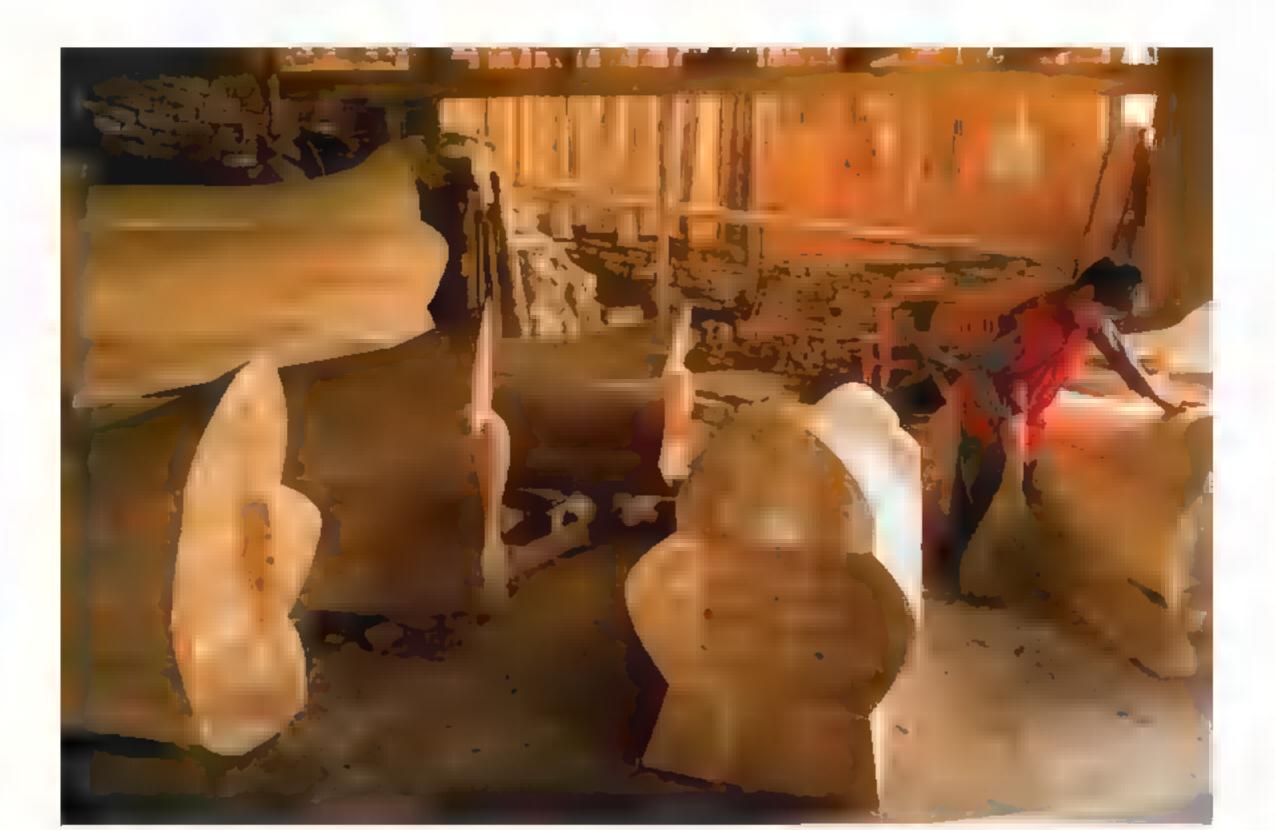
The farmers tallied their losses: homes, pigs, farm tools, grain sheds, and the woven clothes and silver heirlooms of grandmothers and mothers. It would cost them each 20,000 to 40,000 yuan (\$2,500 to \$5,000) to repair or rebuild, a lifetime of debt. The sons of the fire starter were blamed for leaving their father alone while they were outside drinking with relatives from out of town. "When guests come, you have to offer them wine," said a carpenter in a village four miles downriver. "It was an accident."

This accident had its causes. One bad thing leads to another. The family of the fire starter had been troubled for a long time. People used to hear the Eldest Son and father argue at least

road from the ruins of her former home. "But four times a week. It ended each time with the it's all gone." She threw her arms up in the air, as son beating up the father. A crowd witnessed

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The son never cut down his father's coffin tree to have it made into a coffin. No wonder the old man's ghost was wandering.



such a beating in front of the Drum Tower during Spring Festival. "For a son to do such a thing to a father," said the Singing Teacher, "that is very wrong." The family's volatile temper was a curse on the village.

village. By then the two younger sons had run off, and so the eldest had to suffer all the consequences. He and his family went to live in a cowshed on one of his higher fields.

The code allowed the Village Elders to assess a longer banishment and to a farther distance. Big fires, however, are not unheard of in Dong villages. On average a village suffers one But they had been lenient because of the Elevery 30 years. And the most frequent cause? dest Son's younger children. The boy and girl A sleepy old man whose quilt falls into a baattended primary school in the village. The dissin of fire. It was exactly what had devastattance was not as forbidding as the condition ed two Dong villages in the prior two years. of the pathway in bad weather. The final hun-And one year after Dimen's fire, a slipped dred yards to the cowshed was over a hip-wide quilt left a poor village downriver much more footpath, actually the top of a semicircular wall between rice fields. One slip, and you would impoverished. fall three feet in one direction or twenty in the The Village Elders took into account the suffering of the victims and the morals of those other. In a strange way the home of the banresponsible. They assessed a penalty based on ished man had one of the most beautiful vistas the Dong code of conduct: The sons were to be I had ever seen. It was a panorama of mountain, banished for three or four years. They had to live field, and sky, and nothing else. "Nothing else" was their punishment. Before this happened, across the river no closer than three li, about a the banished man said, he had always gotten mile, from town. In addition they had to pay along with his father. Now he hated him. They 10,000 yuan for a ceremony to the God of Land, as well as provide a chicken dinner for the entire had lost everything they owned and were in

GUIZHOU VILLAGE 119





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the term of the term of the term year, term don't be any an area a term performance her generation in the shows she saw as a child on ner family a Thing area in town, inspired her to "fly out of the term nouncein -leave Dimen-to find fame.



-12

GUIZHOU VILLAGE 121



After a summer day's swim, a boy returns to his new bike. Modern amusements get increasing attention in the village, but cherished customs persist. On Saturday mornings, learning old songs from the za in the cultural eco-museum (right) takes priority.

debt. Their 15-year-old son could not deal with the shame of exile and had fled to Guangzhou, where he worked in a factory making clothes hangers. Their reputation would be stained for generations to come. But they would not leave Dimen. They would live in the cowshed until they could return and build another house.

DOWN IN THE VILLAGE, neighbors, family, friends, and even people from other villages hauled lumber, set beams in posts, and planks across beams, to build a traditional Dong home three stories high, with a roof of mud-clay tiles, all without nails. One house was only a skeletal frame, but an old woman, the Widow of the Party Secretary, had laid two planks across two beams, and that was where she slept, under open skies and ten feet above the ground level. By winter all families would be in their new homes.

The ghost of the old man, however, was not

an old rice bag. Several people saw him carrying the sack into the mountains, and when he returned, he was empty-handed. The son never cut down his father's coffin tree to have it made into a coffin. He chopped it down for lumber he could sell. No wonder the old man's ghost was wandering: The closest neighbor heard his footsteps behind her four times, and when she spun around, nothing was there. Even the wife of the Singing Teacher, who lived near the Drum Tower, said she had heard the old man cry out several times. But not every old person believed there were ghosts. The Widow of the Party Secretary said Chairman Mao got rid of them in 1957. She then showed me a charm bracelet of old coins. "The more coins," she said, "the more you can avoid unclean ghosts."

But the five Feng Shui Masters and their chief believed the village was suffering from malevolent forces. While the old man and his sons were responsible for causing the fire, other factors

happy, according to the neighbors. After the must have had an influence. Of all nights, for fire, the Eldest Son stuffed his father's torso into example, why was the water pipe near the Drum

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The za sing songs about table manners and field chores, about the moral good of selflessness, and the moral evil of greed.



Tower broken? Why did a pig fall off a cliff, and a chicken and duck die for no reason? Why were the roosters crowing before midnight? There had also been an unusual amount of illness, and it struck everyone, old and young. A baby died. And over the past two years, ten young people, between the ages of 20 and 40, had been killed. One man perished in a typhoon. Another was I newly married young man. He bought a motorcycle and went to a store to buy a helmet, but they were out of stock. The next day he flew headfirst into a post in the road. His bride received a mobile phone call, telling her the news.

A similar string of unusual coincidences had occurred in 1979. Many came down with an eye disease. Livestock died. People noticed that their chickens wandered over to a certain household. That family's chickens hatched double-yolked eggs. Their crops had better yields. What had they done to create so much luck, while others had more troubles? Through divination rituals, the village with the best feng shui and had thus cut the village off from this source. After the Feng Shui Masters removed the illegal burials, 11 members of the guilty family died.

DURING SPRING FESTIVAL, and for the first time since 1979, the village would be cleansed again by the same ceremony, Guo Yin-"Pass into the World of Yin." In the dim light of an assembly hall, 11 blindfolded men sat on black benches. The Chief Feng Shui Master called out incantations from the Book of Shadows. As fragrant rattan burned under the benches, assistants gave the men a rope of twisted straw to hold at both ends. More incantations were murmured, two bells rang, bowls of wine were stirred, and the 11 men slapped their bouncing knees, as if goading a horse to move forward. Soon they were galloping in a frenzy, and the oldest of them, a 73-year-old man, whinnied like spooked horse, shot up, and leaped back-

the Feng Shui Masters learned that the family ward onto the bench. He had mounted a ghost had secretly buried their ancestors in areas of horse and was racing toward the World of Yin.

GUIZHOU VILLAGE 123



Bending to the constant rhythm of farming, a woman gathers rice shoots from a plot near home to sow in terraced fields. Come what may, fire or flood, this is the work that still feeds her family and stands at the heart of her ancient culture.

Assistants kept the frenzied rider from falling. Soon more riders mounted their ghost horses. The Chief Feng Shui Master sprayed water from his mouth to light the way. With more incantations the ghost-horse riders could go to deeper levels. At each level they could see more.

In 1979 the riders had gone to the 19th level, where they saw their dead mothers and fathers. Stay with us, their parents urged. If a Feng Shui Master provided the wrong incantation, the riders would not return. This time, the master would take them no further than the 13th level. It maidens, the Seven Sisters, as beautiful as fairies. Chase them, the Chief Feng Shui Master said, to urge them to go farther into the underworld.

That day the riders discovered where the illegal burial lay. After the ceremony they left the hall and walked to a slope that was shaped like the back of a comfortable sofa. At the top of the sofa was a small rice field, and buried several feet into its wall was a large ball with a thick crust. Unlike the Eldest Son of the fire starter, someone had placed the happiness of ancestors above that of the village. It must have been the

was still possible for them to find the illegal burials. At that level they could also see the backs of The Chief Feng Shui Master broke the ball open, 124 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC • MAY 2008



into pool, where children gleefully splashed.

But this rain did not stop. People could hear it spattering on their roofs all night long. The Chief Village Elder, who lived in the flat valley, saw the river rising but was not concerned at first. He went into the mountains at 5 a.m. to feed his horse. When he returned, the river had spilled over its ten-foot-high banks. His family was gone; they had already carried the television and other valuables up the steep ladder-stairs to the top floor. His neighbors were in the midst of securing coffins and scared pigs. He watched from the closest bridge.

On the other side of the bridge, water rushed into the ground level of homes. A frightened young woman strapped her baby to her back, and she and her in-laws took what they could to the upper level. Other belongings floated away: buckets and stools, the pails for anyu and bamboo holsters for scythes. Her neighbor's front door ripped off and became a raft. The narrow road was now part of the river, a dark channel of mud, rocks, debris, and logs. Waves slapped the sides of the shortest bridge, and water gushed through the rail slats and covered the benches. It looked like a boat about to break from its moorings. Submerged fields broadened the river, and hundreds of carp rushed downstream. Some landed in fields. People stood on bridges trying to net the rest. At 9 a.m. the rain subsided. At 11 a.m. the water began to recede. The wife of the Chief Village Elder caught up with him. "Where were you?" she demanded to know. According to the chief it was the worst flood in 80 to 100 years. Fields were lost, homes were damaged, roads were washed out, but luckily no one was killed. Was the curse still active? Were there more illegal burials to be found? The Chief Feng Shui Master was not perturbed. All of Guizhou and Hunan Provinces had been affected. This was a natural disaster, he said, not a supernatural one. It was simply bad weather, and they could handle that. They just had to clean up the mess.

removed the ashes, and mixed them with rice wine, pig and human feces, and tung oil. The mess was thrown into the public latrine, and those ancestors who had once occupied the best place were now stuck forever in the worst.

HARMONY BETWEEN THE WORLD above and world below had been restored. Or had it? In late June, four months after the Guo Yin ceremony, sudden heavy rain began to pour late at night. A small amount of flooding was not unusual in summer. The previous year

Vintage Village In a narrated slide show, Lynn

a two-hour storm had transformed footpaths Johnson shows how traditional, rural Dimen is inching

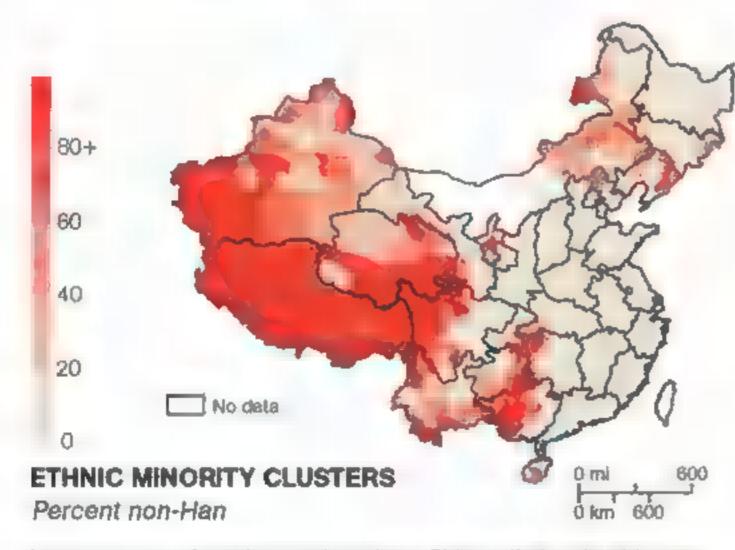
into ankle-deep streams and the schoolyard into the 21st century at ngm.com.

GUIZHOU VILLAGE 125

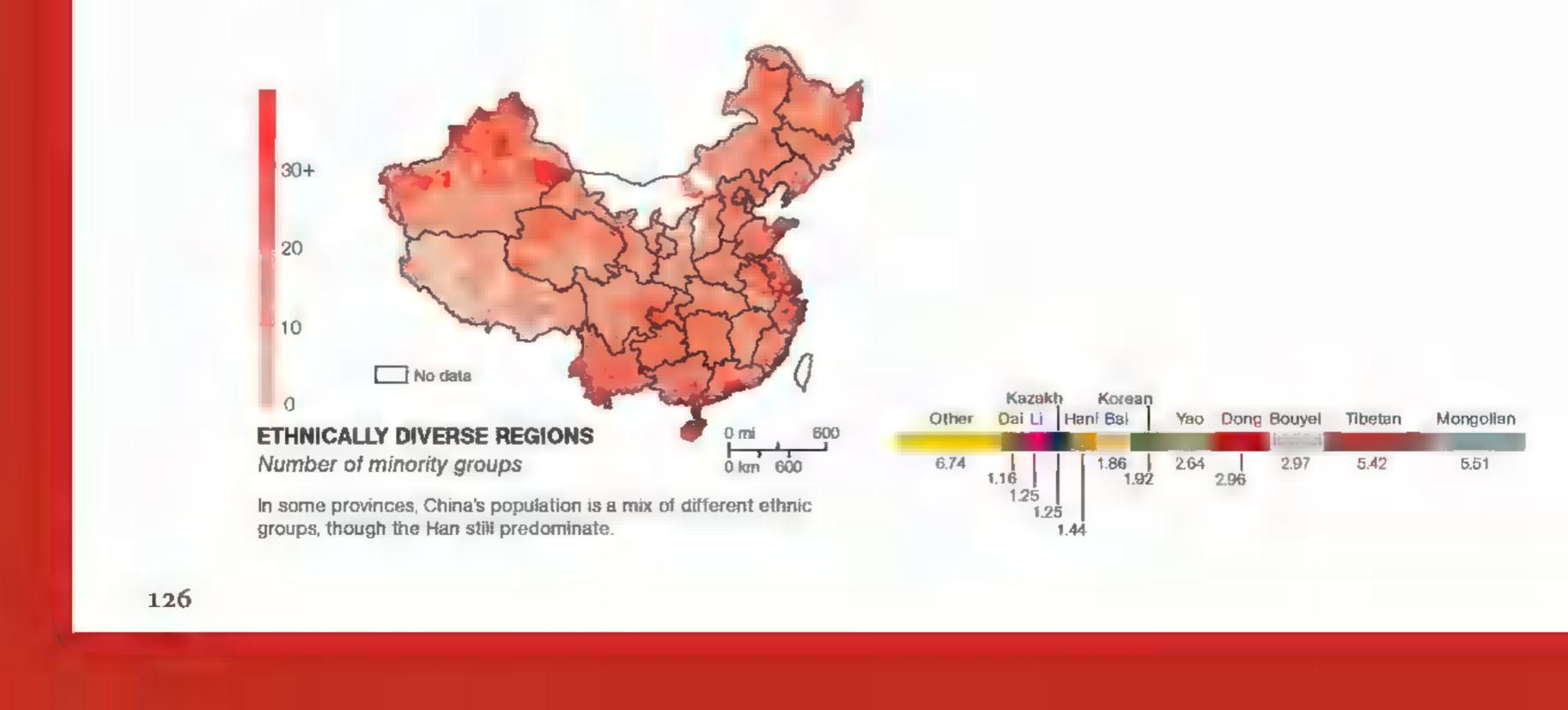


BEYOND THE HAN

Given that around 91 percent of its people are ethnic Han, China might seem a homogeneous country. Yet in a population of 1.3 billion, even China's minorities are sizable—and growing. Its 55 non-Han ethnic groups, largely exempt from China's one-child policy, add up to more than a hundred million citizens, on par with the population of Mexico.

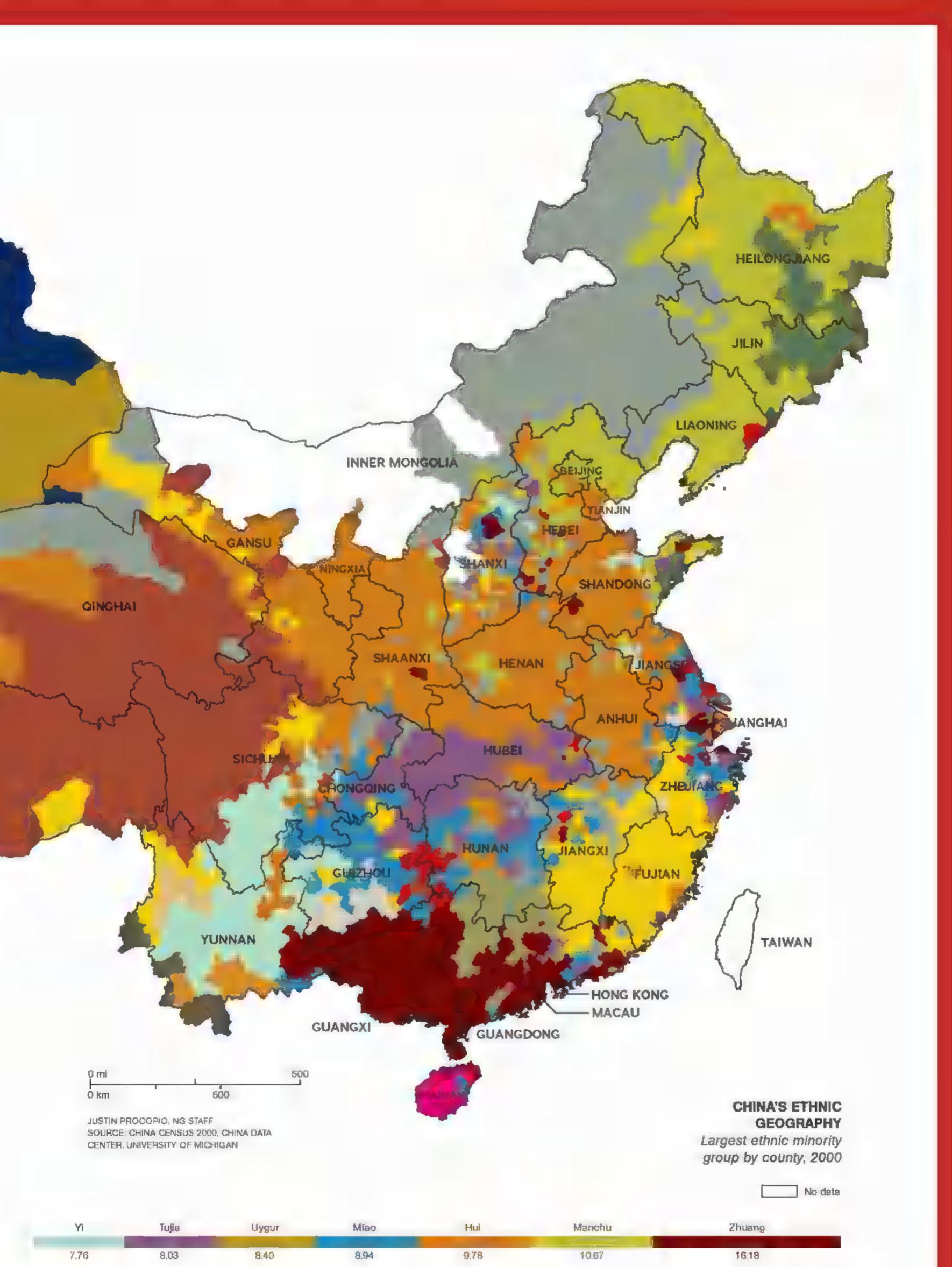


In some areas of western and northern China, ethnic minorities are the majority. Their faster growth is helping fill sparsely populated areas.



XINJIANG

TIBET





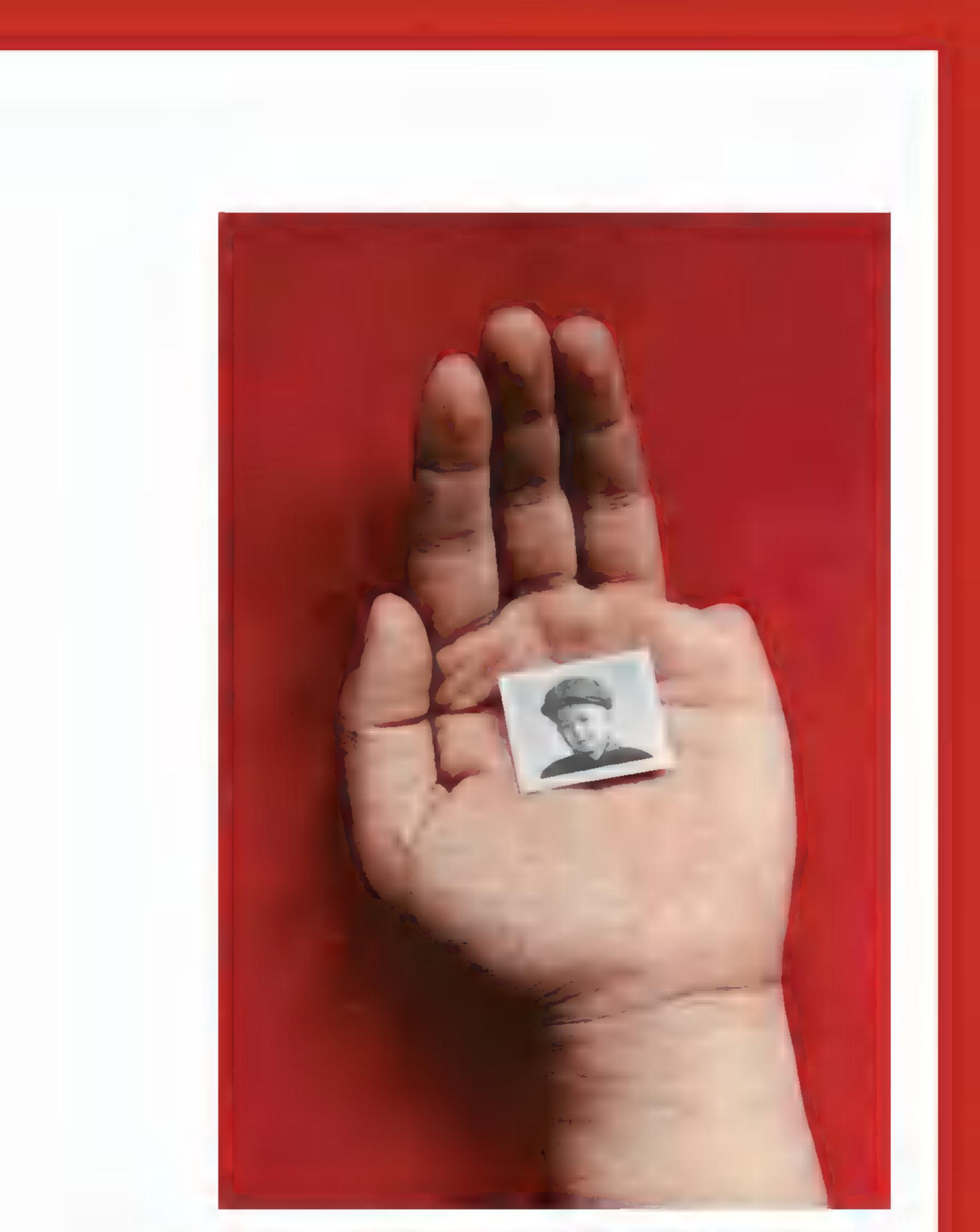


CUTTING OFF DISSENT

Something vital is missing in China. Yet its absence is still felt, raising a question that lingers like a phantom limb: Can the ruling Communist Party continue to suppress political dissent among one-fifth of the world's population? While China has embraced economic development, it remains a repressive one-party state. Monitoring newspapers, magazines, artwork, and more, government functionaries regularly detain citizens whose ideas might undermine China's constitutionally enshrined values of "security,

honor, and interests of the motherland." The party's Publicity Department (formerly the Propaganda Department) sends daily directives to journalists on how to cover the "news." And while the Internet is a conduit for information, it also serves as a surveillance tool for the party, which slaps dissidents with demotion, dismissal, or imprisonment. Last year 29 members of the press spent China's National Journalists' Day behind bars. Foreign reporters feel the pinch too. Says one: "The aim is intimidation and fear, and it works." In a recent assessment of press freedom by Reporters Without Borders, China ranked 163 out of 169 nations. Some pundits say censorship will inevitably disappear as countries "engage" China, but others say that's far too optimistic. As James Mann, author of The China Fantasy: Why Capitalism Will Not Bring Democracy to China, observes, "As other authoritarian leaders around the world seek to stifle political opposition, they look to China as a model." -Alan Mairson





To protest the events of Tiananmen Square in 1989, artist Sheng Qi cut off his finger. He created a series of photographs of his hand, in this one holding a boyhood photo.

"MY LEFT HAND-ME" IN SHENG OI (ABOVE)



National Center for the Performing

Architect, Paul Andreu, France Completed 2007

Rising amid an aging hutong neighborhood, the vast titanium dome of Beijing's new arts center sits near the Great Hall of the People (at right) and Tiananmen Square Known as the egg, serves as a symbol of rebirth," says architect Paul Andreu.

PANORAMA BY STEPHEN WILKES, COMPOSED OF THE BAGES ART BY FERNANDO G. BAPTISTA, NG STAFF

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GREAT

With the Olympics looming, China is pushing architecture to its limits for a giant coming-out party.





National Stadium Architect: Herzog & de Meuron, Switzerland Completed 2008

Lacy tangle of steel twigs cradles Beijing's 91,000-seat Olympic stadium, nicknamed the bird's nest by locals. We didn't design it to be Chinese," says noted Beijing artist Weiwei, a consultant the project "it's an object the world."



BY TED C. FISHMAN PHOTOGRAPHS BY GREG GIRARD

Lunch for the workers constructing the China World Trade Center Tower in Beijing begins at 11:45. Thousands of hard-hatted men pour out of the site of the 74-story high-rise that will be the city's tallest. Most dig into their lunches on

the sidewalk. Others head for a food stand where a tin bowl of sheep-gut soup costs 14 cents. Mr. Wang, who comes from a rural village in Henan Province, runs a crew installing ventilation shafts in the first 30 floors of the trade tower. His helmet, too narrow for his formidable head, sits high and rocks when he talks, more so when he laughs. Wang, at 51, has a burly body and a confident eye, but several of his charges are teenagers fresh off the farm. As boss, he bears responsibility for their mistakes, so sometimes he speeds their training with his boot. Wang and his crew are part of an army of largely unskilled workers, more than a million strong, that has helped turn Beijing into what is perhaps the largest construction zone in history, with thousands of new projects under way. Once a flat cityscape dominated by the imperial Forbidden City and monumental but drab public buildings, Beijing has been struck by skyscraper fever. Over the past 30 years, China's economy has averaged nearly 10 percent annual GDP growth, driven by the marriage of world-class technology with a vast low-cost workforce. That same dynamic has turned China into an architects' playground, first in Shanghai in the 1990s as its skyline filled in with high-rise marvels, and now in Beijing, which is building at mad pace in preparation for the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in August.

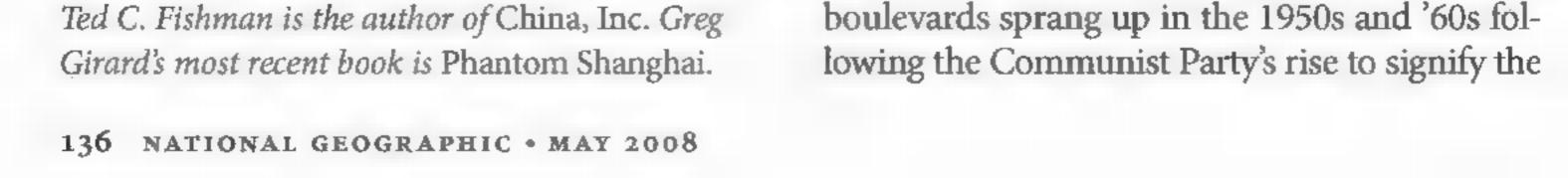
technological bounds, each outshimmering the last. Most major projects have been designed by foreign architects: Chinese clients crave innovation and hunt beyond China to get it, says American architect Brad Perkins, founder of Perkins Eastman in New York. During Mao's Cultural Revolution, architects were more technicians than artists (even the term architect was considered bourgeois), and private architectural firms were a rarity until a decade ago. "By turning to foreigners like me," says Perkins, "the Chinese are buying 30 to 40 years of experience they didn't have."

China's low-wage workers in turn allow foreign

Beijing's newest buildings push aesthetic and

architects to design structures that would be too costly to build at home, with decorative tops, intricate latticework, and bold engineering. The linear grace of the China World Trade Center Tower, for instance, comes from an innovative cross-bracing system that gives it strength against the city's seismic rumblings and high winds, and from glass louvers engineered to make the most of the city's sunlight. But the tower's architects, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, also used technology that could be handled by crews working at breakneck speed. The building's prefabricated window walls can be snapped together rather than cut on-site, as they would be with more highly trained workers. Using huge construction crews that work around the clock, foreign architects get to see big projects to completion in China in a remarkably short time, often within three to four years. "Some people in China—including Chinese architects—believe their country has become the Western architects' weapons testing ground," says Perkins.

For centuries China's leaders have reshaped the capital to showcase their power and reflect their preoccupations. The Forbidden City was constructed during the 15th century to project the Ming dynastic rulers' connection to heaven. A throng of Soviet-style halls, stadiums, and vast





High-rise trumps history in Beijing, where traditional courtyard homes await demolition. More than I million people have been forcibly displaced by new construction.

collective strength of workers and the absolute control of Mao's rule. Today Beijing, the national emblem, is being remade as China's global city. When new buildings open, officials like to speak of how the structures embody the country's "soft power." Outsiders, goes the message, need not fear China as an aggressor nation or military power.

This message is clearest in the 40-billiondollar building spree occasioned by the Olympics, the nation's coming-out party. The buildings say that China is big and powerful, but also inventive, sophisticated, and open. Look at three of the most prominent new structures: One is a stadium that looks like a bird's nest, another an aquatic center that resembles a blue bubbly cube, a third an arts center in the form of an egg as big as a city block. Nests, eggs, and bubbles-a whimsical, approachable China. And then there's the "twisted doughnut," the stunning giant home to CCTV, China's government-run broadcaster. Still unfinished, the building connects at the top with cantilevered sections that meet 531 feet high in the air. Practicalminded Beijingers crane their necks and wonder aloud whether the skewed tower will tumble.

A complaint often heard: Many of these structures are designed for foreign tastes, not new," observes Du Xiaodong, editor of *Chinese Heritage* magazine in Beijing. "The results are disconnected from whatever's next door, and the newest building in the world sits next to some of the oldest, standing together like strangers."

One of the public shames of Beijing is that its building boom has destroyed most of the city's old hutong neighborhoods of traditional courtyard houses, whose residents are often forcibly relocated to make way for projects that enrich local officials and developers. Pei Zhu and Tong Wu, the Chinese architects who designed the digital command center for the Olympics, are among the few architects trying to preserve and adapt what remains of the old city. Instead of razing and building over historic neighborhoods, they'll take a factory constructed during Mao's time and refashion it with courtyards and glass walls that offer vistas of the old city. The approach restores Beijing as city for walkers. Above all it balances the old with the new, a fitting combination for an ancient capital in transition.

As for Mr. Wang, he will likely be among the million or more migrants who will have returned home or moved on to other jobs before the Olympics commence. When the television cameras roll,

Chinese. "China is not confident of its own the city's futuristic vista will have little place for designs, and people prefer to try something the workers who built it.

BEN MCMILLAN, ARCAID/ALAMY

BUILDING BOOM 137



China Central Television Headquarters

Architect: OMA's Rem Koolhaas and Ole Scheeren, the Netherlands/Beijing Expected completion 2009

CCTV's 768-foot leaning towers connect to form a continuous loop "symbolizing collaboration," says architect Ole Scheeren. Part of a 6.5-million-square-







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CAR CRAZY

China is still in the dizzying first days of its love affair with the automobile--it has the same number of cars per capita as the United States did in 1915-but it's racing ahead: China recently surpassed Japan as the second largest car market, after the U.S. Car culture has already transformed daily life, with wildly popular car clubs, "self-driving" vacations, and drive-through eateries, not to mention traffic jams and eye-stinging smog.

Number of privately owned cars in China 11,500,000 Number of additional cars on Beijing roads every day 1,000 Year the government began encouraging private car ownership in China 1994

Number of privately owned cars per 1,000 residents in China 9 In U.S. 450 Average number of bicycles owned by Chinese families

Year by which China is expected to have more cars than the U.S. does now 2025

Percent of people driving cars in China today who did not know how to drive three years ago 37 Number of times higher the death rate from accidents is in China, per 100,000 vehicles, than in the U.S. 4.5

Rank of China among the hottest markets for Rolls-Royce Price of the most popular Rolls sold in China \$397,000 Percent of Chinese car owners surveyed who paid for vehicles in cash 96

Number of McDonald's drive-throughs in 2005 1 Number expected by the end of 2008 115 Number of times all the Chinese expressways slated for completion by the end of 2008 would circle the Equator 1.5





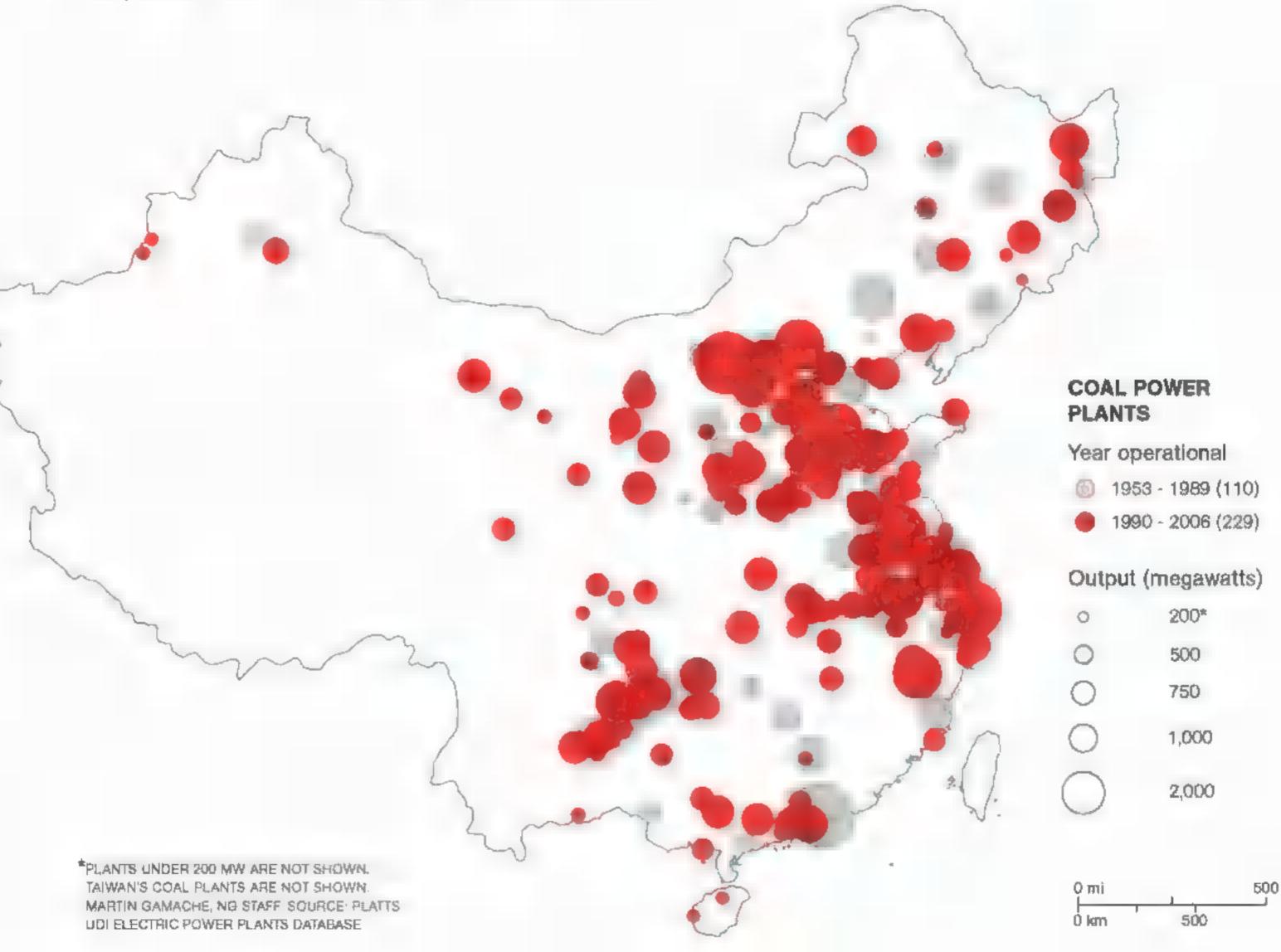
A model strikes a pose with a Chery compact, Chinese car brand, at the 2005 Shanghai Auto Show.



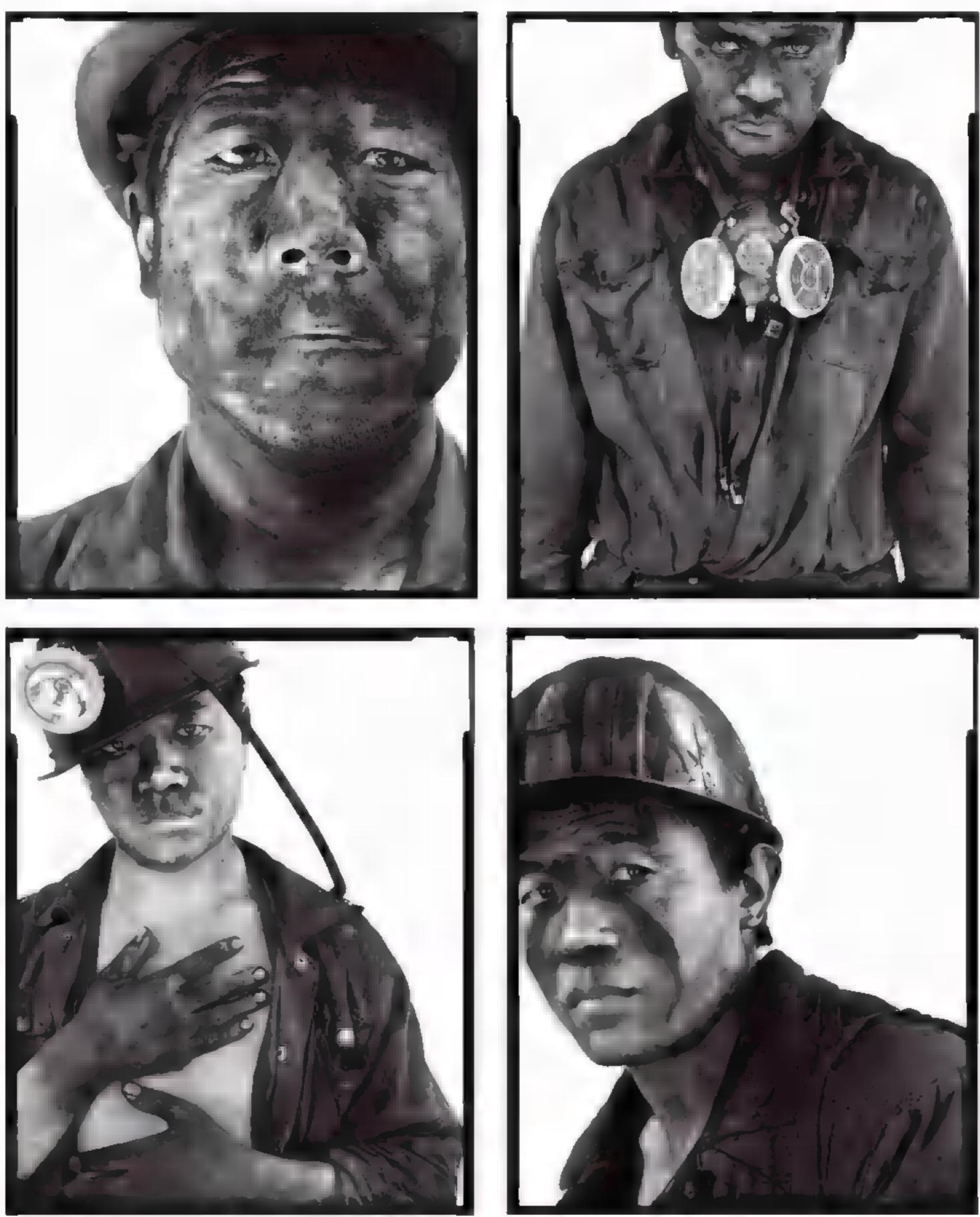


KING COAL

It's cheap, it's dirty, and it's fueling the burgeoning number of electric plants that provide power to China. Coal consumption has more than doubled since 1990, and even the world's largest coal producer can barely keep up. China is constructing the equivalent of two midsize coal-fired power plants each week adding a capacity comparable to the entire U.K. power grid each year. What does that mean for the planet? China recently surpassed the U.S. in carbon dioxide emissions.









Soot-grimed faces of miners in eastern China testify to the country's insatiable appetite for coal. Thousands of miners die each year in the rush to dig more from often unsafe mines.

FROM "THE MINERS" BY SONG CHAO (ALL)



BITTER WATERS

A season a develop is Grands saillern beertaald as its MARA. Inc Velow Black, saccombs to pollution and oversee.

Water fouled by a fertilizer factory in

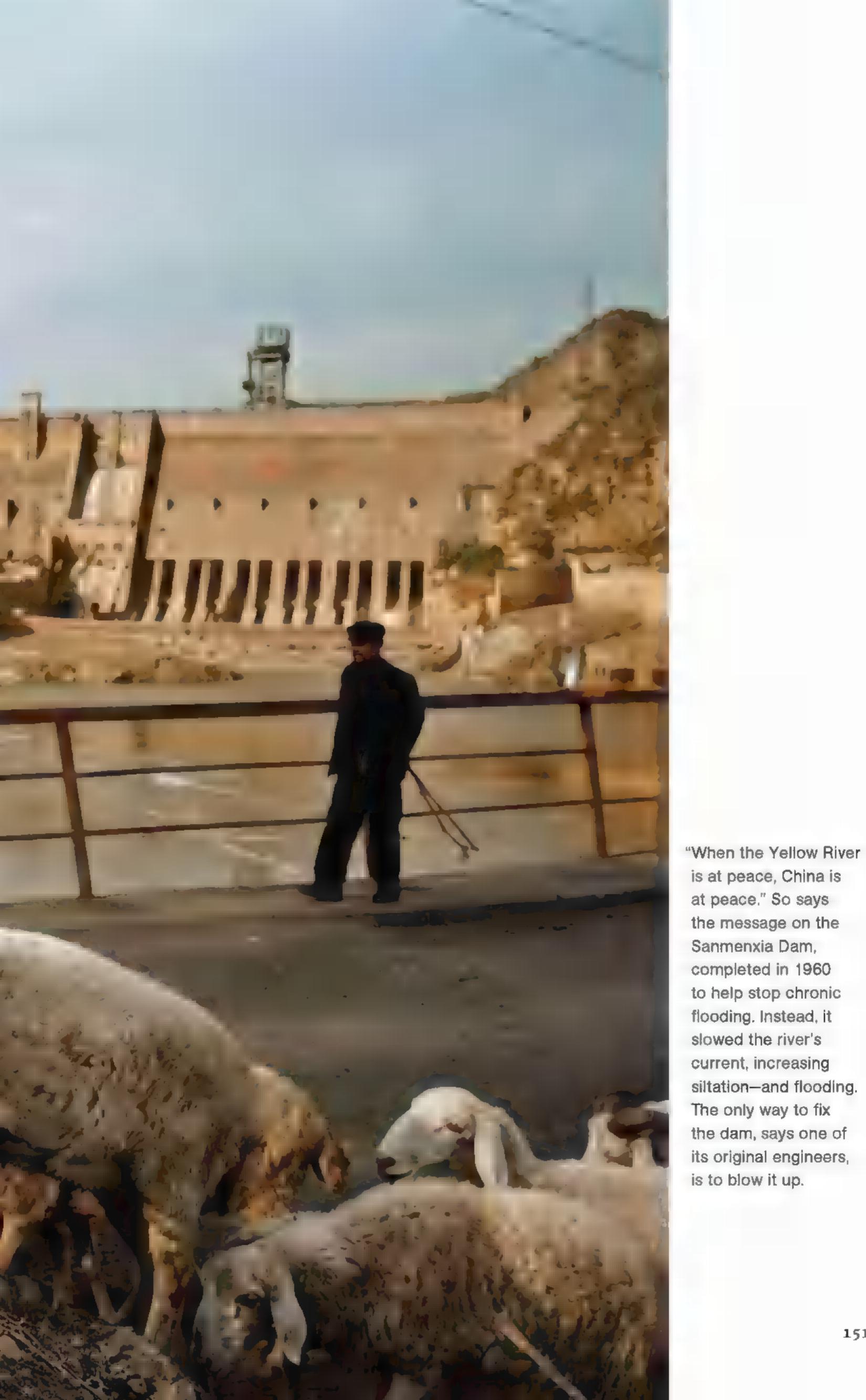
Inner Mongolia steams as It seeps toward.

the upper reaches the Yellow River.



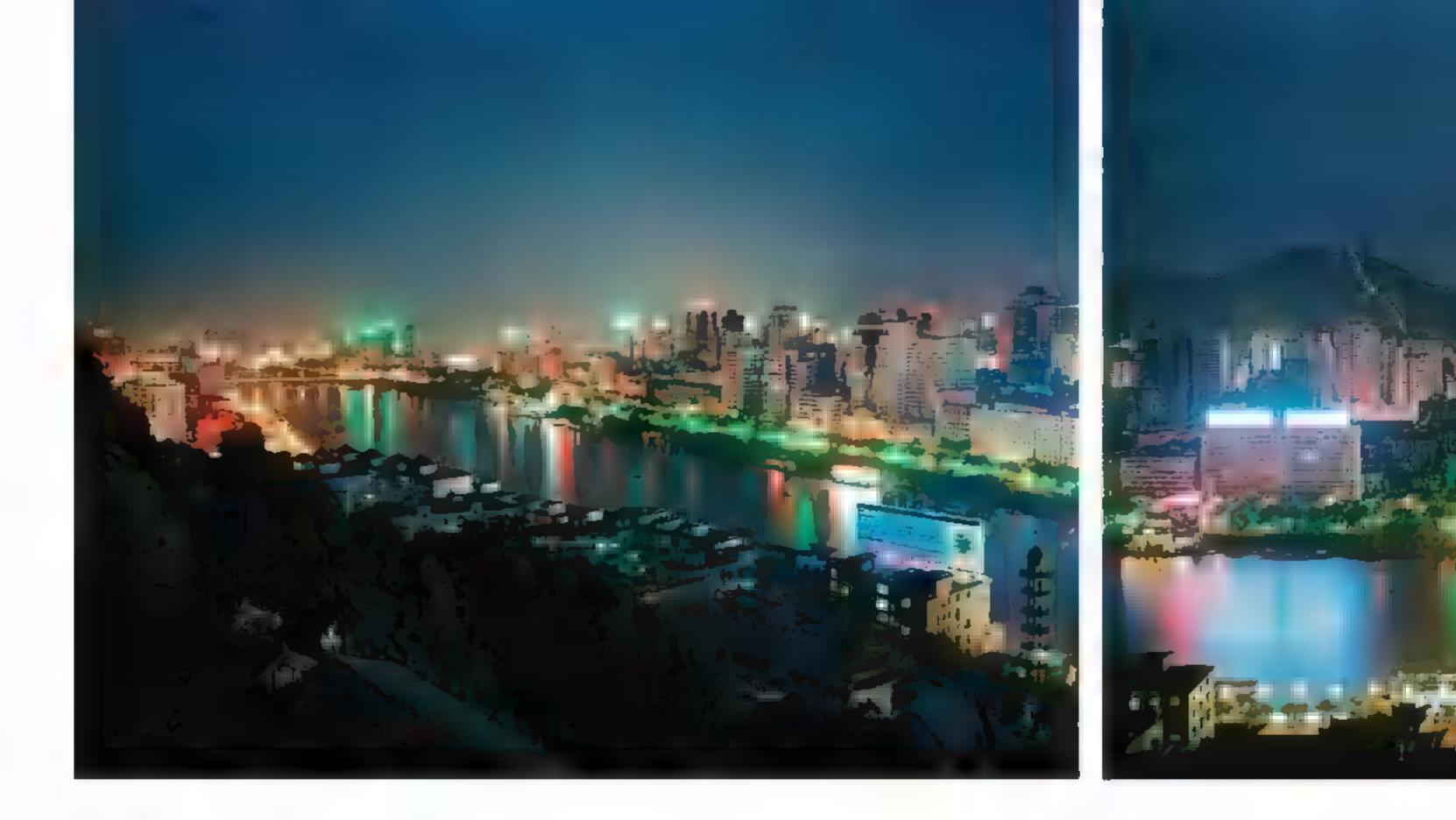






is at peace, China is the message on the to help stop chronic siltation-and flooding. the dam, says one of its original engineers,

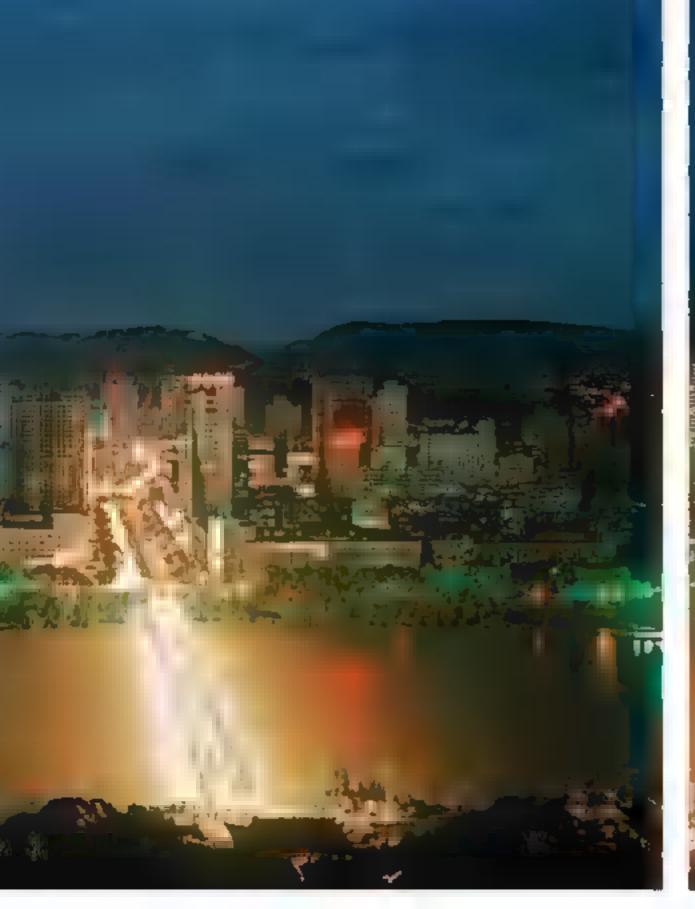
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BY BROOK LARMER PHOTOGRAPHS BY GREG GIRARD

NOT A DROP OF RAIN has fallen in months, and River. From the bank of an irrigation canal, Shen gazes over the green expanse and marvels the only clouds come from sandstorms lashing at the river's power: "I always thought this was the most beautiful place under heaven." across the desert. But as the Yellow River bends But this earthly paradise is disappearing fast. The proliferation of factories, farms, and through the barren landscape of north-central cities—all products of China's spectacular eco-China, a startling vision shimmers on the horizon: nomic boom—is sucking the Yellow River dry. What water remains is being poisoned. From the canal bank, Shen points to another surreal emerald green rice fields, acres of yellow sunflowers, lush tracts of corn, wheat, and wolfberryflash of color: blood-red chemical waste gushing all flourishing under a merciless sky. from a drainage pipe, turning the water a garish This is no mirage. The vast oasis in northpurple. This canal, which empties into the Yelern Ningxia, near the midpoint of the Yellow low River, once teemed with fish and turtles, he River's 3,400-mile journey from the Plateau of says. Now its water is too toxic to use even for Tibet to the Bo Hai sea, has survived for more irrigation; two of Shen's goats died within hours than 2,000 years, ever since the Qin emperor of drinking from the canal. dispatched an army of peasant engineers to The deadly pollution comes from the phalanx build canals and grow crops for soldiers manof chemical and pharmaceutical factories above ning the Great Wall. Shen Xuexiang is trying to Shen's fields, in Shizuishan, now considered carry on that tradition today. Lured here three one of the most polluted cities in the world. A decades ago by the seemingly limitless supply robust man with a salt-and-pepper crew cut, of water, the 55-year-old farmer cultivates corn-Shen has repeatedly petitioned the environmental fields that lie between the ruins of the Great bureau to stop the unregulated dumping. The Wall and the silt-laden waters of the Yellow local official in charge of enforcement responded by deeming Shen's property "uninhabitable." Declaring that nothing else could be done, the Brook Larmer, author of Operation Yao Ming, wrote

about Bhutan in the March issue. Greg Girard lives official then left for a new job promoting the very industrial park he was supposed to be policing. in Shanghai and has been covering Asia since 1986. 152 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC • MAY 2008





"We are slowly poisoning ourselves," says Shen, shaking with anger. "How can they let this happen to our Mother River?"

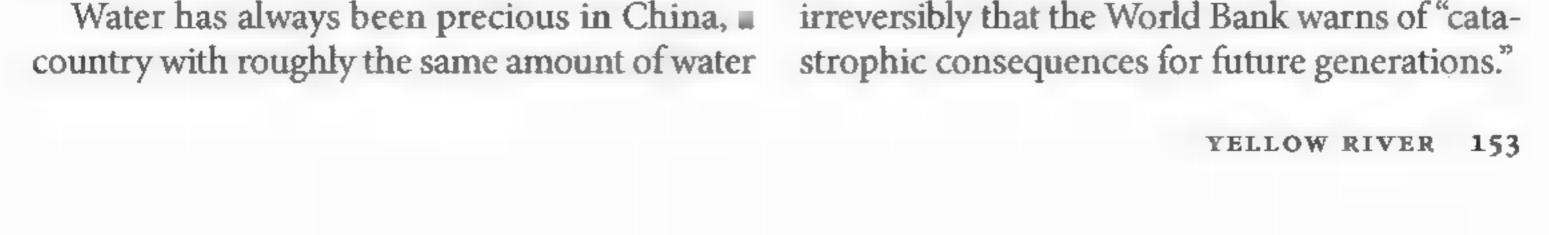
FEW WATERWAYS CAPTURE the soul of a nation more deeply than the Yellow, or the Huang, as it's known in China. It is to China what the Nile is to Egypt: the cradle of civilization, a symbol of enduring glory, a force of nature both feared and revered. From its mystical source in the 14,000foot Tibetan highlands, the river sweeps across the northern plains where China's original inhabitants first learned to till and irrigate, to make porcelain and gunpowder, to build and bury imperial dynasties. But today, what the Chinese call the Mother River is dying. Stained with pollution, tainted with sewage, crowded with ill-conceived dams, it dwindles at its mouth to a lifeless trickle. There were many days during the 1990s that the river failed to reach the sea at all.

The demise of the legendary river is a tragedy whose consequences extend far beyond the more than 150 million people it sustains. The Yellow's plight also illuminates the dark side of China's economic miracle, an environmental crisis that has led to a shortage of the one resource no nation can live without: water.

Largest city on the Yellow River, Lanzhou is also among China's most polluted urban areas. During the past 2,500 years the waterway has overflowed and changed course more than 1,500 times, earning it the epithet "China's Sorrow."

as the United States but nearly five times the population. The shortage is especially acute in the arid north, where nearly half of China's population lives on only 15 percent of its water. These accidents of history and geography made China vulnerable; a series of man-made shocks are now pushing it over the edge. Global warming is accelerating the retreat of the glaciers that feed China's major rivers even as it hastens the advance of deserts that now swallow up ■ million acres of grassland each year.

Nothing, however, has precipitated the water crisis more than three decades of breakneck industrial growth. China's economic boom has, in a ruthless symmetry, fueled an equal and opposite environmental collapse. In its race to become the world's next superpower, China is not only draining its rivers and aquifers with abandon; it is also polluting what's left so



PARCHED AND POLLUTED

Roughly half of China's population lives in the north, where demand for water far exceeds the natural supply. Much of the water that remains is badly tainted: The Yellow's drainage basin feeds a 3,400-mile-long river, 50 percent of whose water is deemed undrinkable. Yellow River drainage basin (detailed at right)

Beijing

THREE GORGES

DAM

 South-to-North Water Transfer Project (under construction)

CHINA

Planned

Water-stressed population, 2000

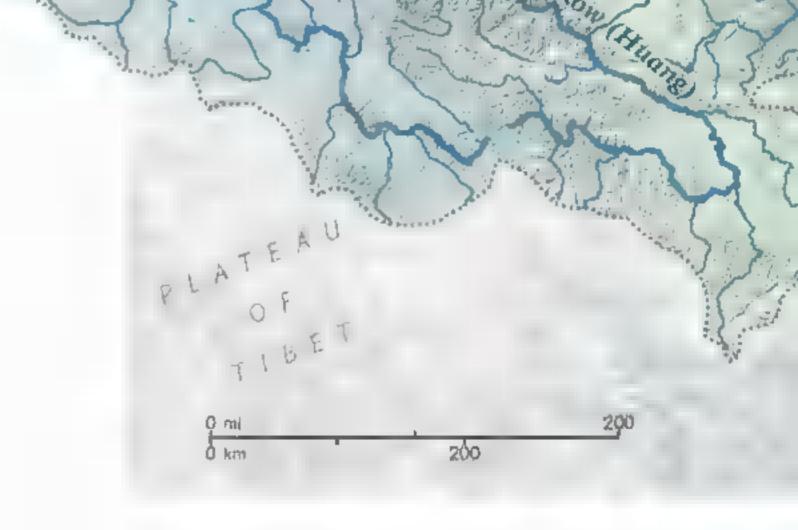
Source of the

Yellow River

× m 250

If that sounds like hyperbole, consider what is happening already in the Yellow River Basin. The spread of deserts is creating a dust bowl that may dwarf that of the American West in the 1930s, driving down grain production and pushing millions of "environmental refugees" off the land. The poisonous toxins choking the waterways—50 percent of the Yellow River is considered biologically dead-have led to a spike in cases of cancer, birth defects, and waterborne disease along their banks. Pollution-related protests have jumped—there were 51,000 across China in 2005 alone-and could metastasize into social unrest. Any one of these symptoms, if unchecked, could hinder China's growth and reverberate across world markets. Taken together, the long-term impact could be even more devastating. As Premier Wen Jiabao has put it, the shortage of clean water threatens "the survival of the Chinese nation." The Yellow River's epic journey across northern China is a prism through which to see the country's unfolding water crisis. From the Tibetan nomads leaving their ancestral lands near the river's source to the "cancer villages" languishing in silence near the delta, the Mother River puts a human face on the costs of environmental de-

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and are average

Qinghai Lake

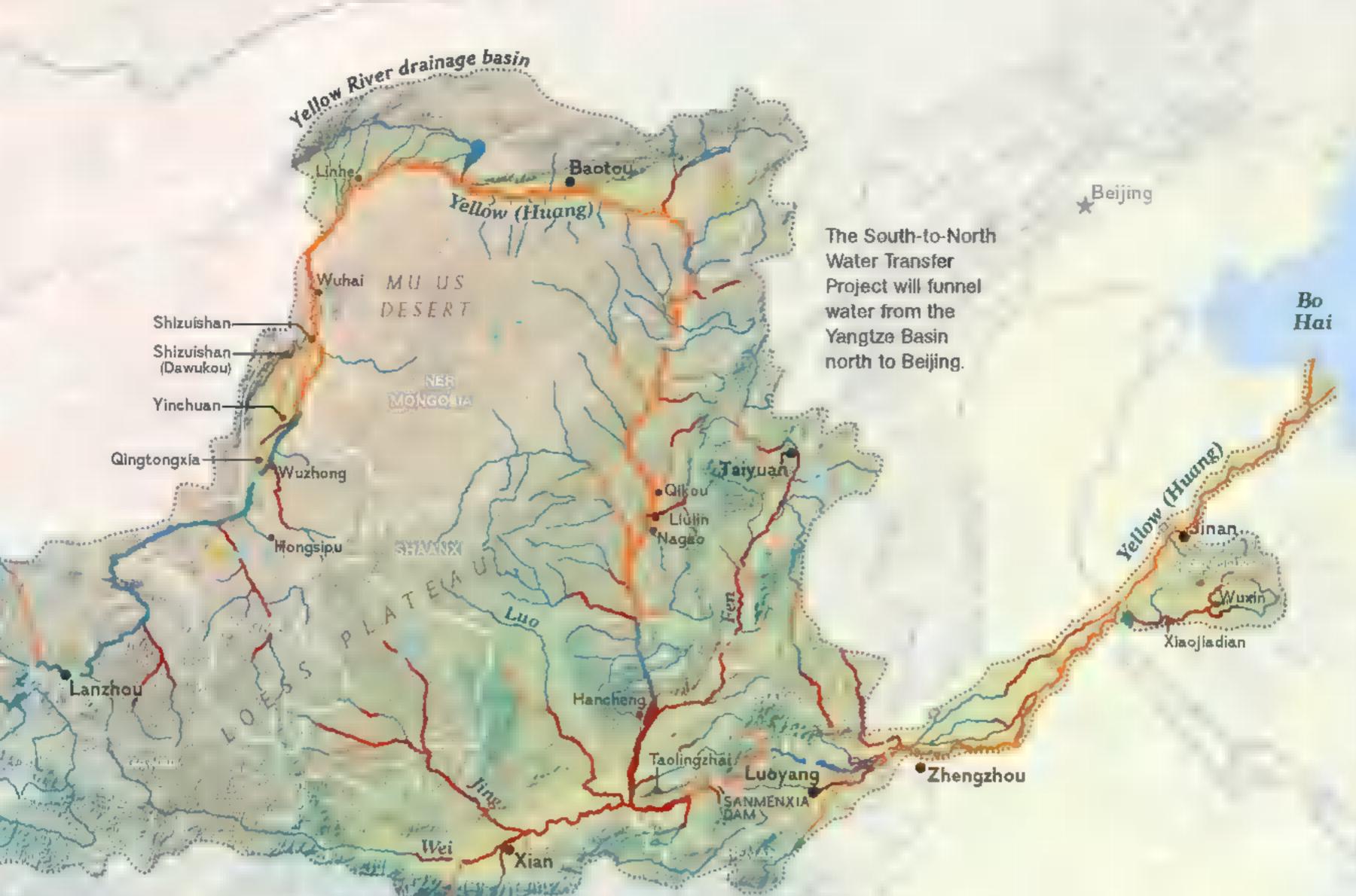
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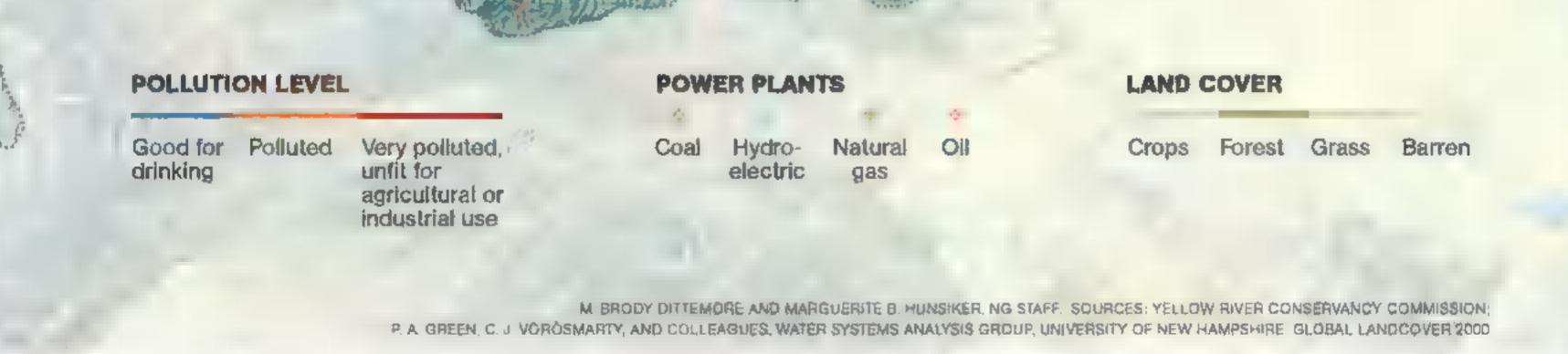
environmental activists—into action. The fate of the Yellow River still hangs in the balance.

SITTING ON A RIDGE nearly three miles above sea level, a rosy-cheeked Tibetan herder with two gold teeth looks out over the highlands her family has roamed for generations. It is a scene of stark beauty: rolling hills blanketed by sprouts of summer grass; herds of yaks and sheep grazing on distant slopes; and in the foreground a clear, shallow stream that is the begin-

struction. But it also shows how this emergency is shocking the government—and a small cadre of says the woman, a 39-year-old mother of four

MONGOLIA





Xian

named Erla Zhuoma, recalling how her family of nomads would rotate through here to graze their 600 sheep and 150 yaks. No longer, she says, shaking her head in dismay. "The drought has changed everything."

The first signs of trouble emerged several years ago, when the region's lakes and rivers began drying up and grasslands started withering away, turning the search for her animals' food and water into marathon expeditions. Chinese scientists say the drought is a symptom of global warming

Chinese majority—who angered the gods by mining for gold in a holy mountain nearby and fishing in the sacred lakes at the Yellow River's source. How else could she comprehend the death by starvation of more than half of her animals? Fearing further losses, Zhuoma and her husband accepted a government offer to sell off the rest in exchange for a thousand-dollar annual stipend and a concrete-block house in a resettlement camp near the town of Madoi. The herders are now the herded, nomads with nowhere to go.

and overgrazing. But Zhuoma blames the misfor-China's water crisis begins on the roof of tune on outsiders-members of the ethnic Han the world, where the country's three renowned YELLOW RIVER 155

The proliferation of factories, farms, and cities—all products of

rivers (the Yellow, the Yangtze, and the Mekong) originate. The glaciers and vast underground springs of the Qinghai-Tibet plateau-known as China's "water tower"-supply nearly 50 percent of the Yellow River's volume. But a hotter, drier climate is sending the delicate ecosystem into shock. Average temperatures in the region are increasing, according to the Chinese weather bureau, and could rise as much as three to five degrees Celsius by the end of the century. Already, more than 3,000 of the 4,077 lakes in Qinghai Province's Madoi County have disappeared, and the dunes of the high desert lap menacingly at those that remain. The glaciers, meanwhile, are shrinking at a rate of 7 percent a year. Melting ice may add water to the river in the short term, but scientists say the long-term consequences could be fatal to the Yellow. To save its great rivers, Beijing is performing a sort of technological rain dance, with the most ambitious cloud-seeding program in the world. During summer months, artillery and planes bombard the clouds above the Yellow River's source area with silver iodide crystals, around which moisture can collect and become heavy enough to fall as rain. In Madoi, where the thunderous explosions keep Zhuoma's family awake at night, the meteorologists staffing the weather station say the "big gun" project is increasing rainfall and helping replenish glaciers near the Yellow River's source. Local Tibetans, however, believe the rockets, by angering the gods once more, are perpetuating the drought. Like thousands of resettled Tibetan refugees across Qinghai, Zhuoma mourns the end of an ancient way of life. The family's wealth, once measured by the size of its herds, has dwindled to the few adornments she wears: three silver rings, a stone necklace, and her two gold teeth. Zhuoma has no job, and her husband, who rents a tractor to make local deliveries, earns three dollars on a good day. Not long ago the family ate meat every day; now they get by on noodles and fried dough. "We have no choice but to adjust," she says. "What else can we do?"

her relationship to the water and the land—to her heritage—has been lost forever.

"WHAT ARE YOU DOING?" the security guard demands. "Nothing," replies the stocky woman lurking outside the gates of the paper mill, tucking her secret weapon-a handheld global positioning device-under her sweater. The guard eyes her for a minute, and the woman, a 51-year-old laid-off factory worker named Jiang Lin, holds her breath. When he turns away, she pulls out the GPS and quickly locks in the paper mill's coordinates.

As an employee of Green Camel Bell, an environmental group in the western city of Lanzhou, Jiang is following up on a tip that the mill is dumping untreated chemical waste into a tributary of the Yellow River. There are hundreds of such factories around Lanzhou, a former Silk Road trading post that has morphed into a petrochemical hub. In 2006 three industrial spills here made the Yellow River run red. Another turned it white. This one is tainting the tributary a toxic shade of maroon. When Jiang gets back to the office, the GPS data will be emailed to Beijing and uploaded onto a Web-based "pollution map" for the whole world to see. For all of Lanzhou's pride in being the first and biggest city along the Yellow River, it is better known for its massive discharge of industrial and human waste. But even here there is a glimmer of hope: the first seedlings of environmental activism, which may be the only chance for the river's salvation. In the mid-1990s a mere handful of environmental groups existed in China. Today there are several thousand, including Green Camel Bell. Jiang Lin's 25-year-old son, Zhao Zhong, founded the group in 2004 to help clean up the city and protect the Yellow River. With only five paid staff, Green Camel Bell is a

Low water exposes sandbars near the town of Qikou in Shanxi Province, and along many other stretches. With so much water diverted for irrigation and industry, the Yellow River

From her concrete home, Zhuoma can still see the silvery beginnings of the Yellow River, but

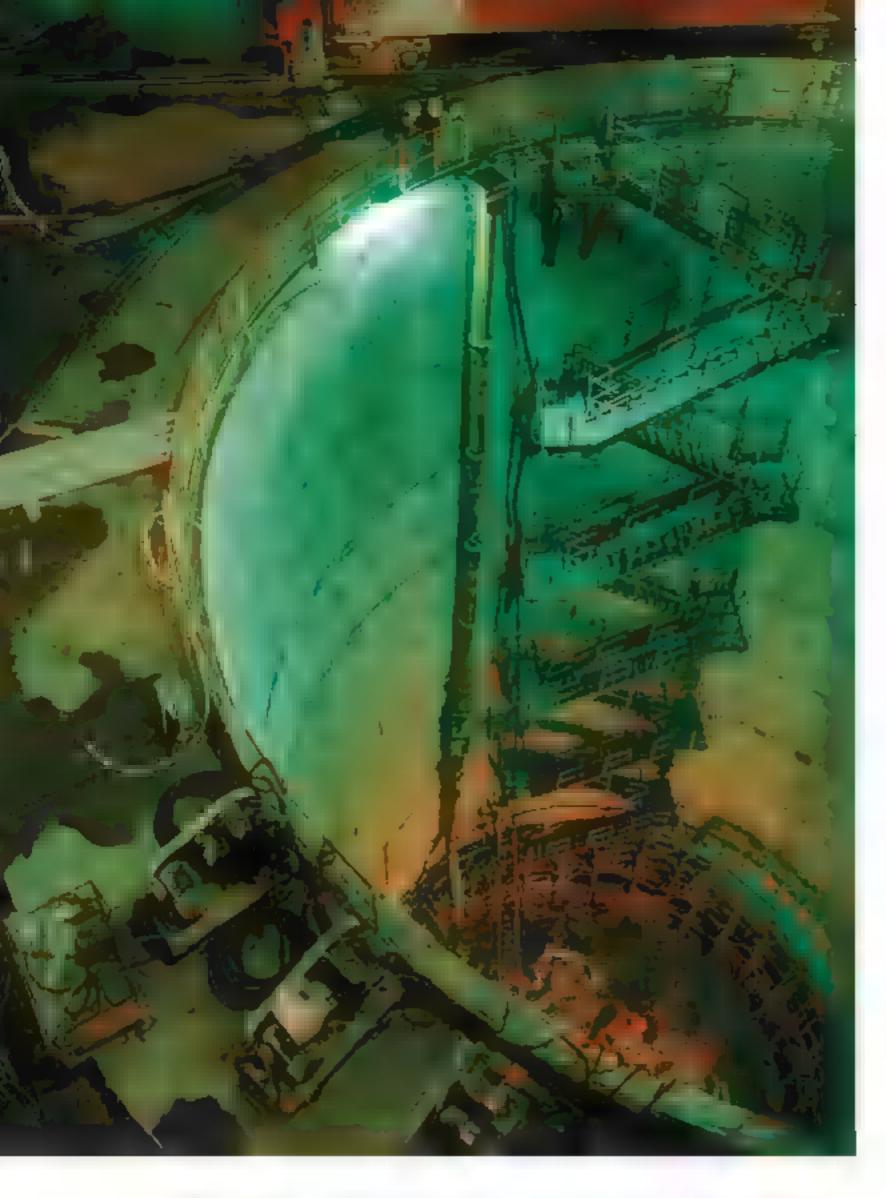
ran dry before reaching its terminus-the Bo

Hai sea-in all but one year during the 1990s.



China's spectacular economic boom—is suching the Yellow River dry.





Yet despite the good intentions, the crisis is only getting worse, reflecting Beijing's loss of control over the country's growth-hungry provinces. Leading environmental lawyer Wang Canfa estimates that "only 10 percent of environmental laws are enforced." Unable to count on its own bureaucracy, Beijing has warily embraced the media and grassroots activists to help pressure local industry. But pity the ecological crusader who speaks out too much. He could end up like Wu Lihong, an activist who was jailed and allegedly tortured last year for publicizing the toxic algal blooms in central China's Tai Lake.

Back in the Green Camel Bell office, Jiang stresses the group's cordial relations with local authorities. "The government has been working hard to stop factories from dumping," she says. Nevertheless, along her office wall stand plastic bottles filled with water discharged by factories and ranging in color from yellow to magenta-all unanalyzed for lack of funds. Even with its modest resources, Green Camel Bell has mobilized volunteers to help survey the ecology of the 24-mile section of the Yellow River that flows through Lanzhou. Their most important, and stealthiest, work is publicly exposing the most egregious polluters. It's enough to give a laid-off worker a sense of power and purpose. "I feel like a detective," says Jiang, laughing about her narrow escape at the paper mill. "But ordinary people like me have to get involved. Pollution is a problem that affects us all."

To move water from southern China to waterstarved parts of the north, a massive 62-billiondollar network of concrete conduits is now under construction-including a pipe (above) that runs beneath the Yellow River. Water delivery to Beijing begins this year.

shoestring operation kept afloat by grants from an American NGO, Pacific Environment. The name they chose, after the reassuring bells worn by camels in Silk Road caravans, is meant to be "a sign of life," says Jiang. "The bell is supposed to give hope to everyone who hears it."

At long last Beijing appears willing to listen. After three decades blindly pursuing growth, the TWO HUNDRED MILES northeast of Lanzhou, government is starting to grapple with the envithe Yellow River carves a path through the desolate expanse of Ningxia, revealing a problem ronmental costs. The impact is not simply monetary, though the World Bank calculates that with even more devastating long-term conseenvironmental damage robs China of 5.8 perquences than pollution: water scarcity. China cent of its GDP each year. It is also social: Irate starts at a disadvantage, supporting 20 percent citizens last year flooded the government with of the world's population with just 7 percent hundreds of thousands of official environmental of its fresh water. But it is far worse here in complaints. Whether to save the environment or Ningxia, a bone-dry region enduring its worst stave off social unrest, Beijing has adopted amdrought in recorded history. For millennia the bitious goals, aiming for a 30 percent reduction Yellow River was Ningxia's salvation; today in water consumption and a 10 percent decrease the waterway is wasting away. Near the city of Yinchuan, the river's once mighty current is in pollution discharges by 2010. 158 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC • MAY 2008

reduced to a narrow channel. Locals blame the river's depletion on the lack of rain. But the biggest culprit is the extravagant misuse of water by rapidly expanding farms, factories, and cities.

Perhaps every revolution, even a capitalist one, eats its children. But the pace at which China is squandering its most precious resource is staggering. Judicious releases of reservoir water have averted the embarrassment of recent years, when the Yellow River ran completely dry. But the river's outflow remains just 10 percent of the level 40 years ago. Where has all the water gone? Agriculture siphons off more than 65 percent, half of which is lost in leaky pipes and ditches. Heavy industry and burgeoning cities swallow the rest. Water in China, free until 1985, is still so heavily subsidized that conservation and efficiency are largely alien concepts. And the siege of the Yellow River isn't about to stop: In 2007 the government approved 52 billion dollars in coal mining and chemical industries to be installed along a 500-mile stretch of the river north of Yinchuan. Such frenzied growth may soon fall victim to the very water crisis it has helped create. Of the some 660 cities in China, more than 400 lack sufficient water, with more than a hundred of these suffering severe shortages. (Beijing is chronically short of water too, but it will be spared during the Olympics, thanks to engineering feats that divert water from the Yellow River.) In a society increasingly divided between urban and rural, rich and poor, it is China's vast countryside—and its 738 million peasants—that bears the brunt of the water shortage. The lack of water is already hindering China's grain production, fueling concerns about future shocks to global grain markets, where even modest price hikes can have a disastrous effect on the poor. Wang Shucheng, China's former minister of water resources, put the situation dramatically: "To fight for every drop of water or die, that is the challenge facing China."

Two years ago, after their wells and rain buckets went dry from drought, all 36 families in Yanghe abandoned their village to the encroaching desert. They came to a valley called Hongsipu, where more than 400,000 environmental refugees have settled for one reason: It has water, delivered by a Kuwaiti-funded aqueduct that snakes across the scrub desert from the Yellow River, 20 miles to the north. The Yanghe villagers have settled in a row of single-room brick houses near the concrete aqueduct, tending plots of land given by the Chinese government (along with about \$25 a person) as part of a program to alleviate poverty and desertification.

Even though Sun is barely able to coax a few stalks of corn out of the sandy soil, he is inspired by the flourishing crops—and growing wealth—of more established refugees. "If we hadn't left our old village and come here," he says, "we wouldn't have survived." The Mother River, once again, is giving life. But with all the pressures on its dwindling water, one wonders: What will creating another oasis in the desert do to the river's own chances of survival?

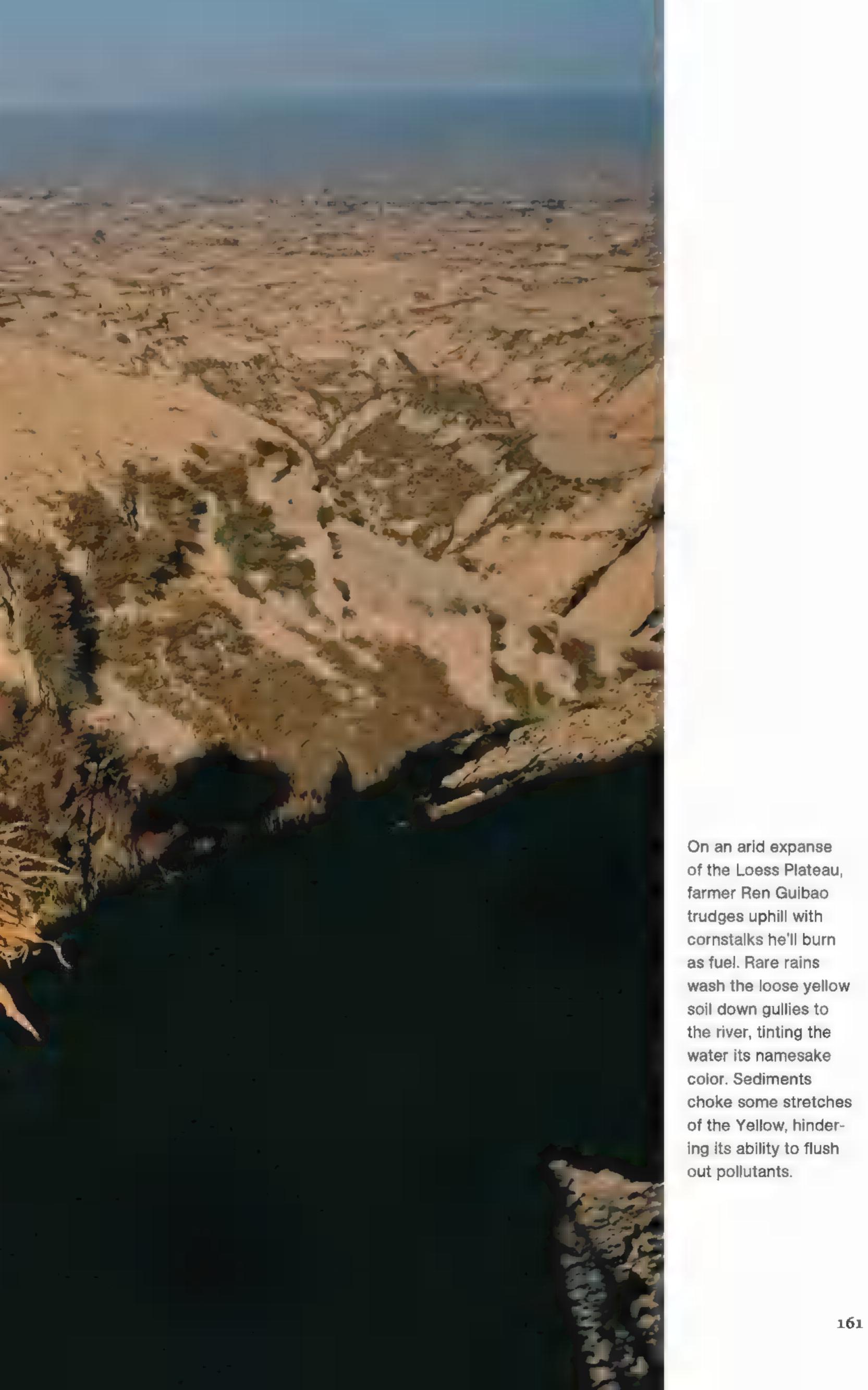
For Sun Baocheng, a sunbaked 37-year-old farmer from the central Ningxia village of Yanghe, this challenge is not merely rhetorical excess. Yellow River controls China." Mao took this, like much else, to extremes. His biggest monument to man's power over nature—the 350-foot-tall

MAO ZEDONG'S MANTRA—"Sacrifice one family, save 10,000 families"—is still seared into Wang Yangxi's memory. Like the Chinese emperors before him, Chairman Mao was obsessed with taming the Yellow River, the life-giving force whose changes of course also unleashed devastating floods, earning it the enduring sobriquet "China's Sorrow." When, in 1957, construction began on the massive dam at Sanmenxia, on the river's middle section, 400,000 people—including Wang—lost their homes. Mao's slogan convinced them it was a noble sacrifice. "We were proud to help the national cause," says Wang, now 83. "We've had nothing but misery ever since."

The idea of conquest has driven China's approach to nature ever since Yu the Great, first ruler of the Xia dynasty, allegedly declared some 4,000 years ago: "Whoever controls the Yellow River controls China." Mao took this, like

YELLOW RIVER 159





To save its great rivers, Beijing is performing a sort of technological

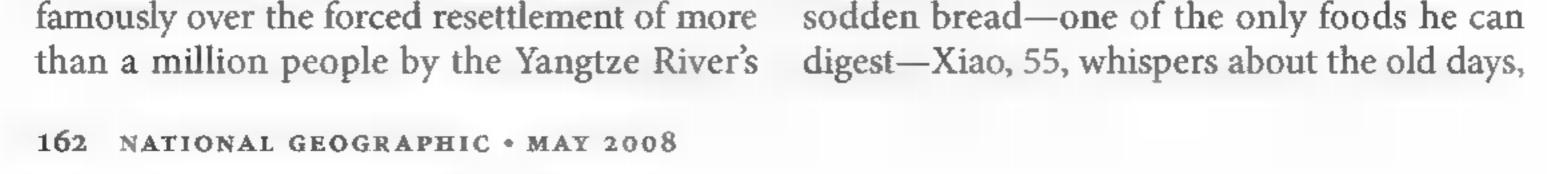
Sanmenxia Dam—is a case study in the danger of unintended consequences. The dam has tamed the lower third of the Yellow River by turning it into what one commentator has called "the country's biggest irrigation ditch." But the impact upriver has been disastrous, due to a stunning lack of foresight. Engineers failed to account for the colossal amount of yellowish silt (more than three times the sediment discharge of the Mississippi) that gives the river its name. By mismanaging the silt, Sanmenxia has caused as many floods as it has prevented, ruined as many lives as it has saved, and compelled the construction of another huge dam simply to correct its mistakes. One of Sanmenxia's original engineers even recommends blowing up the whole thing.

Wang would be the first to volunteer for such a mission. Husking cotton on his doorstep in Taolingzhai village, about 30 miles west of Sanmenxia, the bristle-haired former schoolteacher recalls a life whose every tragic twist has been shaped by the dam. After Wang and his family were evicted from this fertile land during the dam's construction, they were banished to a desert region 500 miles away. Nearly a third of the refugees died of starvation during Mao's Great Leap Forward, he says. Eventually, half of the survivors straggled home. Wang now farms land near the junction of the Wei and Yellow Rivers. But even here, he is not safe. When heavy rains fall, the Sanmenxia reservoir backs up, pushing polluted water over the banks. Three floods in five years have destroyed his cotton crops and poisoned the village's drinking supply. "All of our young people have left," says Wang. "There's no future here." Unlike Mao's little red book, the Sanmenxia Dam is hardly a relic of the past. China now boasts nearly half of the world's 50,000 large dams-three times more than the United States -and construction continues. A cascade of 20 major dams already interrupt the Yellow River, and another 18 are scheduled to be built by 2030. Grassroots resistance to dams has emerged, most

Three Gorges Dam, but to little effect. Ma Jun, a prominent environmentalist, says dams on the Yellow River are especially harmful, since they exacerbate the twin threats of pollution and scarcity. The reduced water flow destroys the river's ability to flush out heavy pollutants, even as standing reservoirs allow a badly overused river to be drained even further. "Why cannot human beings give up their ruthless ambition of harnessing and controlling nature," Ma asks, "and choose instead to live in harmony with it?"

The simple answer: Beijing is still addicted to growth. The economic boom has lifted hundreds of millions of Chinese out of poverty, and the Communist Party's legitimacy, perhaps even its survival, depends on continued expansion. China's leaders pay lip service to conservation and efficiency as a solution to the north's chronic water shortage. But rather than raise the price of water to true market levels—a move that would surely alienate both the masses and big industry—they have opted instead for another pharaonic feat of engineering: the South-to-North Water Transfer Project. The 62-billion-dollar canal system, which is designed to relieve pressure on the Yellow River, will siphon some 12 trillion gallons of water a year from the Yangtze Basin and send it 700 miles north, passing beneath the Yellow in two places. It's no surprise, given the Olympian scale of the project, that it—like Sanmenxia—originated as one of Mao's pipe dreams.

EVEN AS OTHER PARTS OF CHINA careened through droughts and floods in past decades, the village of Xiaojiadian enjoyed a steady supply of fresh water by virtue of its location on a tributary of the Yellow River, less than 200 miles from where it spills into the sea. But the waters, once a source of life, have turned deadly. Nobody here likes to talk about the plague that has struck the village, but the scar running down the chest of a gaunt farmer named Xiao Sizhu has its own eloquence. It shows precisely where doctors tried to remove the cancerous tumor gnawing at his esophagus. In between bites of

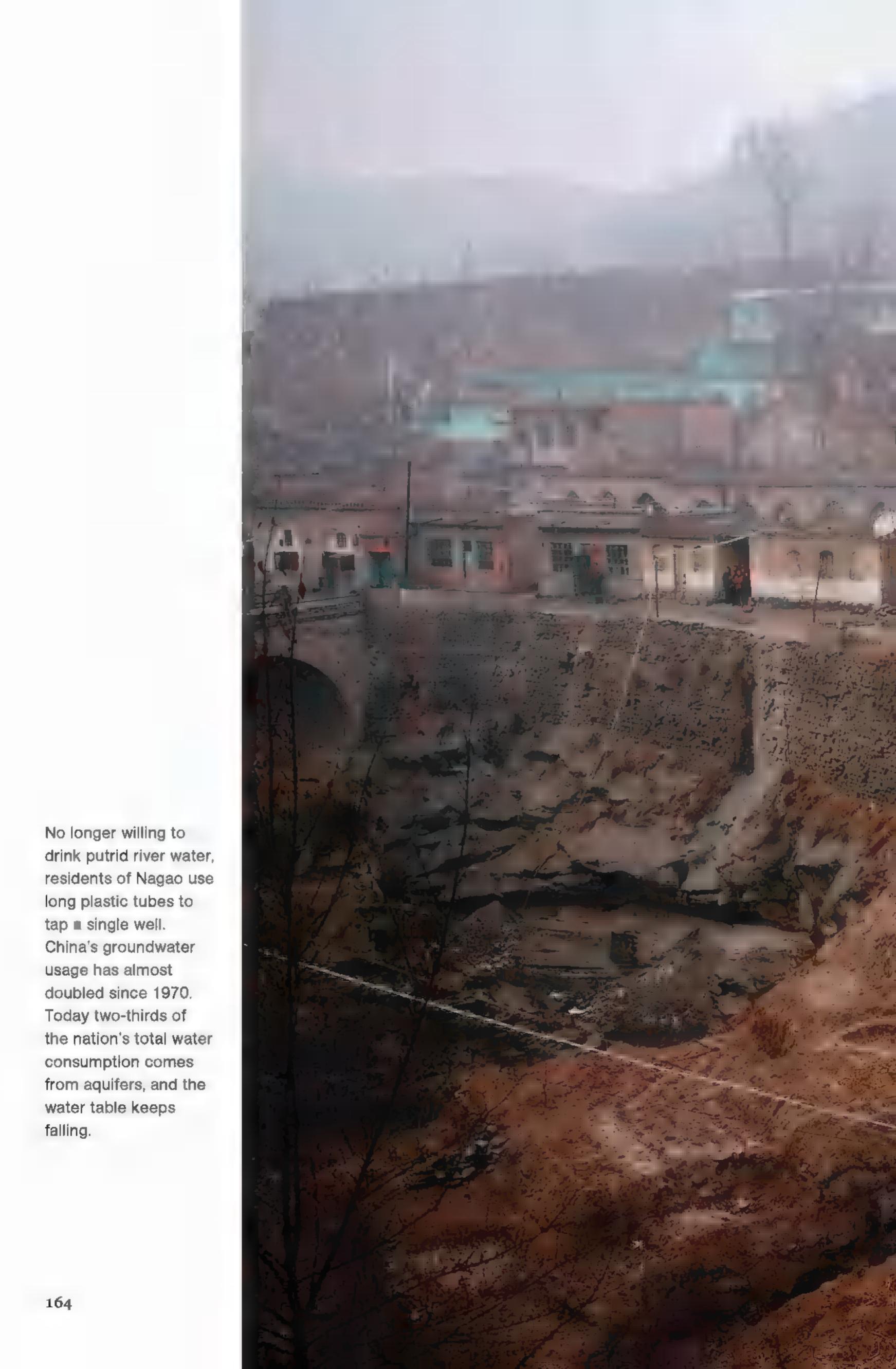


rain dance, with the most ambitious cloud-seeding program in the world.



Shooting for rain, meteorologist Huang Binming (right) and his crew launch canisters of silver iodide into the sky near Madol. This cloud-seeding program has increased rainfall close to the river's source, says Binming, though some Tibetans complain these noisy fusillades anger the gods. "People in our city don't think that way," says Binming. "They are very cooperative."











The drive to consume clouds the road ahead in Liulin, where a coalfired power plant helps fuel an energy-hungry China. Environmentalists say that greenhouse gases are contributing to the death of the Yellow River, but economists warn that a slowdown in China could lead to political instabilityeven chaos.

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After three decades blindly pursuing growth, China's government is

when his family felt lucky to live in this wellwatered corner of the river basin, in eastern Shandong Province. Over the past two decades, however, a parade of tanneries, paper mills, and factories arrived upstream, dumping waste directly into the river. Xiao used to swim and fish in the eddy next to the village well. Now, he says, "I never go close to the water because it smells awful and has foam on top."

Another place he avoids is the grove of poplar trees outside the village, with its burial mounds stretching to the river's edge. In the past five years more than 70 people in this hamlet of 1,300 have died of stomach or esophageal cancer. More than a thousand others in 16 neighboring villages have also succumbed. Yu Baofa, a leading Shandong oncologist who has studied the villages of Dongping County, calls it "the cancer capital of the world." He says the incidence of esophageal cancer in the area is 25 times higher than the national average. The more than four billion tons of wastewater dumped annually into the Yellow River, accounting for a full 10 percent of the river's volume, has pushed into extinction a third of the river's native fish species and made long stretches unfit even for irrigation. Now comes the human toll. In a 2007 report China's Ministry of Health blamed air and water pollution for an alarming rise in cancer rates across China since 2005-19 percent in urban areas and 23 percent in the countryside. Nearly two-thirds of China's rural population, more than 500 million people, use water contaminated by human or industrial waste. It's little wonder that gastrointestinal cancer is now the number one killer in the countryside. The ubiquity of pollution-related disease is cold comfort to the villagers in Xiaojiadian, who live in fear and shame. The fear is understandable: 16 more cases of cancer were diagnosed in the village last year. The shame, however, has deeper roots. Even though officials told villagers the epidemic likely stems from the drinking well by the poisoned river, many locals believe

in those with quick tempers or bad characters.

Like most victims, Xiao suffered in silence in his house for nearly a year, hiding his symptoms even from the local doctor. Medical bills have since wiped out his savings, and the tumor has reduced his voice to a whisper. Even so, Xiao is one of the few willing to speak out. "If we don't talk, nothing gets done," he rasps, spitting up phlegm into a plastic cup. The government recently built a new well 11 miles away and sent in teams of doctors. But Xiao says officials might not have paid attention to Xiaojiadian had a villager not tipped off a reporter at a Chinese television station two years before. Now Xiao only has one regret: that he didn't speak out earlier. "It might have saved me," he says.

A few months pass, and a fresh earthen mound appears in the grove of poplar trees by the river. The grave has no tombstone, just some bamboo sticks and a few aluminum cookie wrappers rustling in the breeze. Xiao has come to the place he long avoided, joining friends and neighbors who were stalked by the same waterborne assassin. Is it a cruel irony or just the natural order that their final resting place overlooks the very river that likely killed them? It is too late to save Xiao Sizhu, but there remains a flicker of hope that the Yellow River can be rescued. China's leaders, aware of the peril their country faces, now vow "to build an ecological civilization," setting aside almost 200 billion dollars a year for the environment. But the future depends equally on ordinary citizens such as activists Zhao Zhong and his mother, the intrepid Jiang Lin. Remember that Lanzhou paper mill Jiang locked in with her GPS? Not long after the information went up on the Internet, the government shut down the mill, along with 30 other factories dumping poison into tributaries of the Yellow River.

"Maybe the impact of one single person is small," says Zhao. "But when it is combined with others, the power can be huge." □

Tirty Work An interactive map with more of Greg

cancer comes from an imbalance of chi, or life force, which is said to occur more frequently along the Yellow River's banks at **ngm.com**.



starting to grapple with the environmental costs.



Keeping your balance while moving ahead—that's the trick for children playing inside plastic bubbles on a lake in Shizulshan. It's also the challenge for China, where balance is Confucian value—"harmony" is a national watchword—but where an environmental crisis poses a global question: Can we keep on growing without destroying ourselves?





FACTORY TO THE WORLD

Try finding a coffeemaker, an iPod, or birthday candles not made in China, and you'll see the results of what American manufacturers call the "China price": Goods can be made so cheaply in China that it's cornered the market on many products. For Americans, the flip side of lost factory jobs is an abundance of good deals at Wal-Mart. And despite scares over lead-laced Barbies and tainted pet food, the goods keep on coming, making China's Guangdong Province the world's manufacturing mecca.

For every shipping container bringing materials into Guangdong's port, nine go out filled with exports.

Percent of the world's umbrellas made in China 70 Percent of the world's buttons made in China 60

Percent of U.S. shoes made in China 72 Percent of U.S. kitchen appliances made in China 50

Percent of U.S. artificial Christmas trees made in China 85 Percent of U.S. toys made in China 80

Percent of Chinese goods sent to the U.S. that end up on Wal-Mart's shelves 9 Percent of the unsafe toys recalled in the U.S. in 2007, including Thomas the Tank Engine, that were made in China 100

Number of months a Chinese factory worker would need to work to earn the cost of a Thomas the Tank Engine train set 6





Workers make toy guns at the Gealex factory in the city of Shenzhen, where women workers outnumber men.

FROM "THE REAL TOY STORY" BY MICHAEL WOLF, LAIF/REDUX (ABOVE)

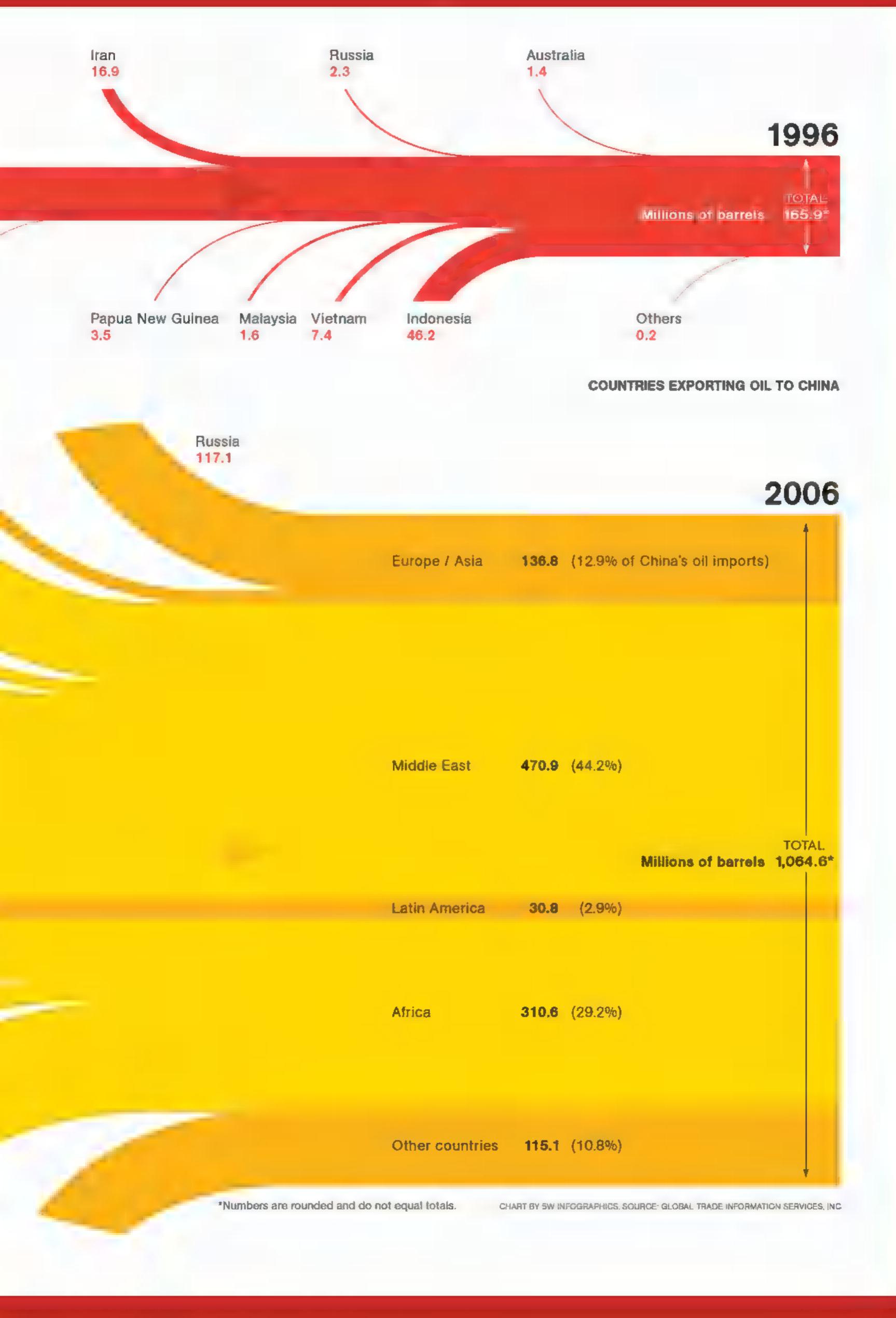


HUNGRY FOR OIL

There's a new contender for the world's oil. Up until the early 1990s, China produced most of the oil it needed to keep its economic engine running, but breakaway growth in transportation and plastics production doubled China's oil consumption. Imports have swelled over sixfold in the past decade as China woos oil-rich countries, such as Angola and Sudan, with investments and loans while largely ignoring corruption and human rights abuses. China's demand has helped drive up oil prices to record highs, causing pain at the gas pump for drivers around the world.







THE ROAD AHEAD

China's expectations are rising, with no end in sight. What's next?

Fragile nature meets the hnolu lical ambit in the labor-roughened hands of a track worker. Li Yingde captured this show finch

while working on a new high-altitude section

of China's 2,525-mile Beijing-to-Lhasa railway.







BY PETER HESSLER PHOTOGRAPHS BY FRITZ HOFFMANN

THE GENESIS of a Chinese factory town is always the same: In the beginning nearly everybody is a construction worker. The booming economy means that work moves fast, and new industrial districts rise in distinct stages. Those

early laborers are men who have migrated from rural villages, and immediately they're joined by small entrepreneurs. These pioneers sell meat, fruit, and vegetables on informal stands, and later, when the first real stores appear, they stock construction materials. After that cell phone companies set up shop: China Mobile, China Unicom. They deal prepaid phone cards to migrants; in the southeastern province of Zhejiang, one popular product is called the Homesick Card. During these initial stages there's rarely any sign of police. Government officials are prominently absent. It's not until plants start production that you see many women. Assembly-line bosses prefer young female workers, who are believed to be more diligent and manageable. After the women appear, so do the clothes shops. It's amazing how quickly a shoe store emerges from a barren strip of factories, like a flower in a broken sidewalk. In the early days garbage accumulates in the gutters; the government is never in a rush to institute basic services. Public buses don't appear for months. Manholes remain open till the last instant, for fear that early settlers will steal the metal covers and sell them for scrap. Over a two-year period, I traveled repeatedly to Zhejiang, watching factory towns rise from the farmland. Every time, I rented a car and followed a brand-new highway that connected the boomtowns of tomorrow. I drove the road for

speeding tickets—\$20 each, three or four every journey. They were issued by automated cameras, usually in places where the posted speed limit mysteriously dropped without warning. I collected violations in factory towns all across the province: in Jinhua, known for producing brassieres; in Lishui, maker of synthetic leather; in Qiaotou, famous for buttons and zippers.

Fines were deducted from my deposit at the Prosperous Automobile Rental Company. "It's a good business for the police," the rental company boss told me. Later I learned that individual cops invested in cameras as private entrepreneurs with a stake in profits. The boss told me to memorize the camera locations, but I was never able to do that. It was hard enough to manage every trip so I always returned the car with an empty tank. That was Prosperous Automobile's business strategy: Whenever they rented out a vehicle, they made sure it had just enough fuel to make it to a gas station. If I returned a car with so much as a gallon in the tank, it would be siphoned off and sold—another profit in the cutthroat world of Chinese business.

THE POET John Greenleaf Whittier, who marveled at the early industry of Lowell, Massachusetts, described the "city springing up, like the enchanted palaces of the Arabian tales, as it were in a single night." Today it's the factory towns of China that seem to be conjured up from another world. The sheer human energy is overwhelming: the fearless entrepreneurs, the quick-moving builders, the young migrants. Virtually everybody has been toughened by the past; families remember well the poverty of the Mao period. Meanwhile most Chinese have seen their living standards rise in recent years, often dramatically. This combination—the struggles of the past, the opportunities of the present—has created a uniquely motivated

six months before noticing any clear indication population. It's hard to imagine another place of local authority. That's when I began to receive where people are more willing to work.

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But few Chinese spend much time thinking about the future. Decades of political turmoil and farm. Industrialists had to hire unskilled taught citizens that nothing lasts forever, which workers, mostly recent immigrants, and they inspires the fearlessness of the entrepreneurs but made the most of limited labor. The need for efficiency inspired innovations that changed the also makes them shortsighted. The same is true of the Communist Party. During the reform years, world: the cotton gin, the sewing machine, the authority has become so decentralized that there's assembly line, the American system of standardlittle oversight, and most local governments have ization and interchangeable parts. to find their own funding. They rely heavily on CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL revolution has followed real estate transactions-a city can acquire farmland, build basic infrastructure, and then sell to a different path. There's little incentive to save labor, because of constant migration. Competiindustry or commercial developers. Economists estimate that cities receive roughly half their fistion is ruthless, but it's not the sort that leads to cal revenue from such sales, and in many places innovation; most plants simply try to shave down it's resulted in madcap development, financed by the cost of making low-margin products. Eduloans from state banks. Cadres take advantage of cation suffers from a similar low-end approach. Chinese schools have been remarkably successful any opportunity for corruption, because the party has a policy of rotating leaders. "Every five years at basic skills-the literacy rate is over 90 percent, you change the local government officials," Wang compared with 65 percent in 1982, according to Lina, an economist at the Chinese Academy of the Ministry of Education. But the conservative curriculum depends heavily on rote memoriza-Social Sciences, told me. "So they know they have a limited opportunity. Do they worry about the tion, and higher education is particularly weak. next generation of leaders? They have to get it The next step is to develop a population that can while they can." do more than make cheap goods for less. The people themselves are desperate for bet-Short-term thinking, both individual and inter training. In a Chinese factory town, after the stitutional, represents one of China's fundamental challenges. Another issue is simply population. In early construction is finished and the machines some ways it's a strength: Of China's 1.3 billion citibegin to hum, private courses proliferate: English zens, 72 percent are between the ages of 16 and 64. classes, typing classes, technical classes. In Zhe-In modern history the nation has never enjoyed jiang I met Luo Shouyun, who had been illiterate such a large percentage of able workers, and their when he first left his village; sometimes he had movement from the countryside has turned China spent as much as a quarter of his income on after-hours training. Now he was a master machininto the world's factory floor. In 1978, when Deng Xiaoping initiated free-market reforms, there were ist, with a salary that placed him solidly in the only 172 million urban residents. Now there are middle class. Another young man had learned 577 million—over 40 percent of the population. Arabic in order to translate for Middle Eastern Social scientists predict that this figure will apbuyers. An assembly-line worker with a seventhproach over 60 percent by 2030. Each year roughly grade education showed me the book he read at ten million rural Chinese move to the cities, pronight: Harvard MBA Comprehensive Volume of viding a constant supply of cheap labor. How to Conduct Yourself in Society. "I'm not mature enough," he explained. "Somebody as young But cheap labor isn't always best for longas me needs help, and this book can provide it." term development. It's worth comparing with Whittier's century, when American in-It was remarkable what they accomplished dustry and agriculture were revolutionized. with almost no institutional support. That's Back then the prime motivator was actually another contrast to 19th-century America, when a shortage of workers. The U.S. had plenty of rapid development across the nation also amazed land and relatively few people; anyone who visitors, who described new towns rising in THE ROAD AHEAD 177

saved a few months' wages could move west







distinct stages. Typically the earliest settlers included lawyers, along with traders and bankers. A local newspaper often began printing while people still lived in tents. The first buildings were generally the courthouse and the church, and lending libraries appeared quickly. If it was a tough world, at least there was some early sense of community and law.

In China, though, new cities are strictly business: factories and construction supplies and cell phone shops. Local governments focus on profiteering, and the Communist Party has always discouraged the kind of organizations that contribute in other societies. This is perhaps the nation's greatest human rights challenge. Westerners tend to focus on the dramatic-dissidents, censorship—but it's the lack of institutions that actually hurts most Chinese. Workers are left to fend for themselves: no independent unions, no free press, few community groups. Through sheer willpower, many succeed, but the wasted potential is staggering. In the reform years China has unleashed its remarkable population; the next stage is to learn to respect this wealth.

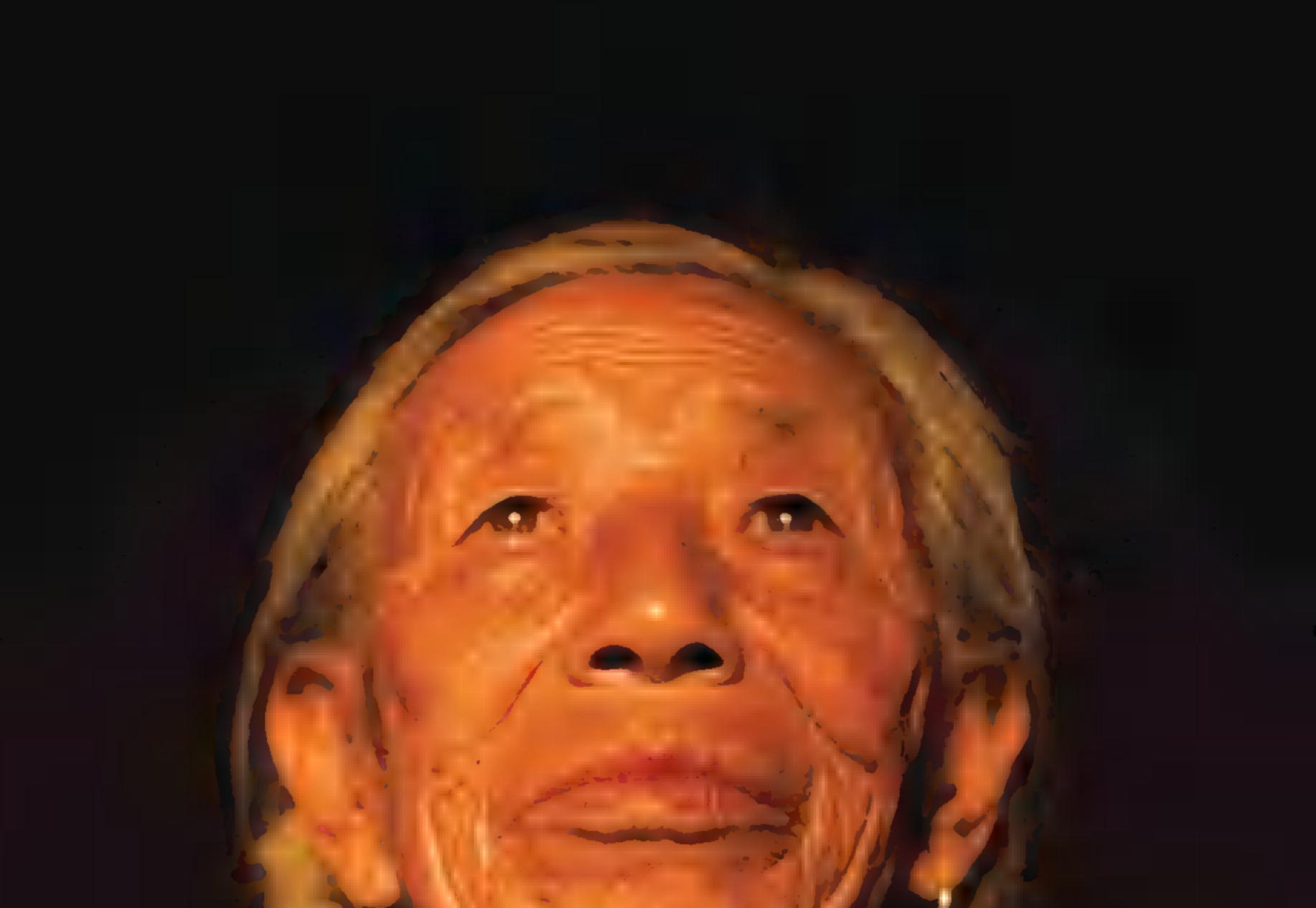
local authorities that need to raise funds through constant development. According to a World Bank report, China already has four of the ten cities with the most polluted air, and increasingly the nation's problems are the world's. China has become the leading emitter of sulfur dioxide and carbon dioxide. And yet the auto boom has just begun; the nation is responsible for less than 10 percent of worldwide oil consumption.

The fact that China and the world can no longer ignore each other may be the one source of optimism. If these problems are to be managed, collaboration will be crucial. And no one in the developed world should criticize China without taking a hard look in the mirror. The nation has risen by making products for overseas consumption, and there's nothing foreign about the materialistic dreams of average Chinese. An American criticizing China's environmental record is like an addict blaming his dealer. In Shifan, one of the dam-relocation communities, I joined a family for the first meal in their new apartment. The father was a moderately successful businessman, and he proudly showed me the finished home. It was full of fashionable possessions: a karaoke machine, a 45-inch television, a bed that came with a telephone in the headboard. Most impressive was the lighting system in the living room. A massive chandelier contained nearly three dozen bulbs, and rows of blue lights had been inlaid along the ceiling to evoke the sky. Red bulbs were hidden in alcoves ("They give a warm feeling," said the father). Everything could be flicked on and off by remote control. For lunch they invited relatives and friends, and throughout the meal everybody complained about the dam. Compensation for lost homes had been too low; promises hadn't been kept; cadres had embezzled. They worried that they wouldn't be able to do business in the new community. "These are very serious matters, and people are upset," the father said to me. All told there were 65 bulbs in that room, and every single one was turned on.

IN ZHEJIANG I DROVE through a half dozen new towns that were being constructed as part of the Tankeng Hydroelectric Dam. More than 50,000 people were being relocated, and the dam would provide electricity for the region's factories. Nowadays energy shortages have inspired a wave of dambuilding across China, where people are relocated into new communities that follow familiar construction stages: the building supplies for sale, the cell phone shops, the garbage-strewn streets. But there's always a police presence, because of the fear of unrest by people forced to leave their homes. And propaganda banners are everywhere. In Zhejiang it was hard not to become suspicious when the Communist Party's slogans suddenly praised long-term thinking: Offer the Tankeng Dam as a tribute today / benefit the generations of tomorrow.

Almost nothing about today's China inspires optimism about environmental issues. National

characteristics are potentially disastrous: massive population, weak central government, of China is at ngm.com. 180 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC • MAY 2008



If a life I have been starving," she says. But now, rural Shaanxi, she grows more food than she can eat. Like her nation, 82-year-old Du Chenglan has begun III taste abundance, and relish the change. Behind every face in

the gallery that follows is a story-of struggle, ambition, delight-and in the unfolding of such stories China's future will take shape

















Wang Zhuo Balyang Lake Heber







4 ...





Yang Xin Chen 1

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9









ON ASSIGNMENT The Waiting Game With just three trains up and three back from Tibet each day, photographer Fritz Hoffmann and his fixer, Huang Yong, scouted their shot carefully, traveling tracks in Qinghai Province for a week to settle on this spot where the Kunlun Mountains made a dramatic backdrop. Consulting with rail workers, they pinpointed a safe camera location very close to the tracks. Says Hoffmann, "We found this spot, the mountains looked great, the light was perfect. Would somebody please cue the train?"

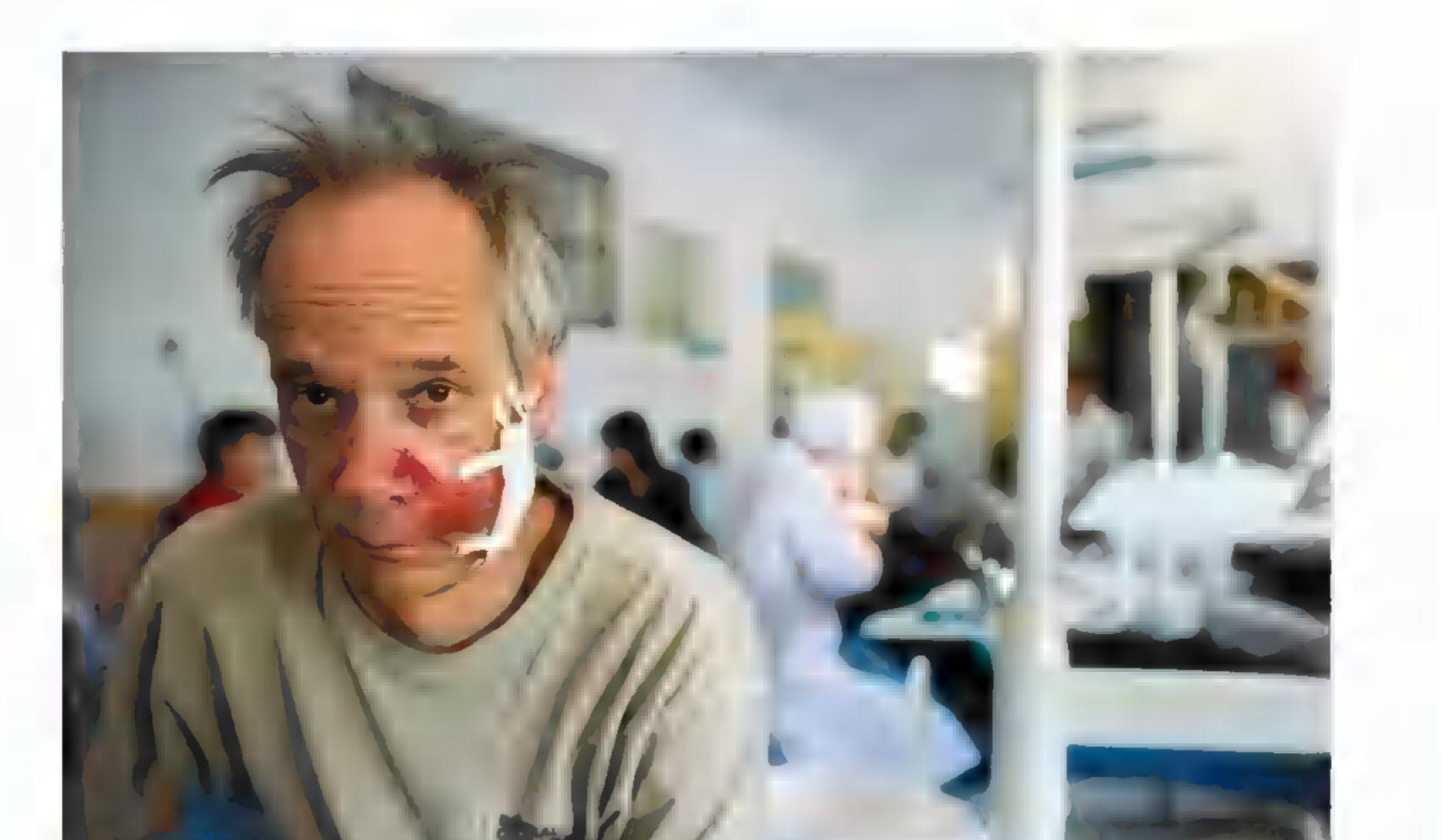


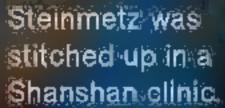
ON ASSIGNMENT Village Tales Novelist Amy Tan (left) first visited the village of Dimen in 2005, during a research trip for an opera she was working on, and was captivated. "You just wonder," says Tan, "what is life like?" She was happy to go back and spend time with the villagers for this issue. Tan stayed in a hotel built by a Hong Kong philanthropist who wants to preserve the village. She had many gossipy conversations with locals in their homes and at events like the babynaming ceremony where hundreds of guests got caught up in competitive round singing. And she's not done with Dimen yet.

"Of course it's going to wind its way into the new novel," she says. "There are too many delicious details."

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PHOTOS: HUANG YONG (TOP); EMILY SCOTT POTTRUCK





ON ASSIGNMENT **Crash Landing** Taking off one day to shoot aerial photographs of the Taklimakan desert near Shanshan (map, right), photographer George Steinmetz ran into trouble: His motorized paraglider banked right on takeoff, caught a tree, and swung Steinmetz into the ground. The crash knocked him out and pushed his teeth through his cheek (above). But he flew



again the next day. "There wasn't anything I could do to make it better except let time do its thing," he says. Steinmetz took his aerial photographs while piloting only a few hundred feet above the ground. His main

worry was power lines that have gone up everywhere as China has developed. They are "like a rat's nest," he says. In the calm early morning—the best flying time—the power lines hide in shadows. He avoided electrocution but had other problems: In a later crash in Jinshanling, Steinmetz was in a motorized hang glider with a



A motorized hang glider (left), which Steinmetz chose for its stability in high winds, crashed upon landing in Jinshanling.

pilot whose cold-numbed feet misjudged the pedals upon landing.

The men were fine, but the aircraft was wrecked.

PHOTOS, ALAIN ARNOUX (TOP), LI LEI NGM MAPS

A World of Photos The winners of *National Geographic's* second annual International Photography Contest fit well in this special issue on China: They are two Chinese photographers and two Americans, one of whom took his award-winning shot in Tibet. Readers around the world submitted 148,203 images for the contest. Our local-language editions picked their favorites, then forwarded them to Society headquarters for the final judging. The top prizes included a trip to Washington, D.C., for an awards ceremony.



PHOTO ESSAY Tian LI Chengziyu, China

Photographer Tian Li captured these villagers in a gate tower on the Great Wall of China, as they prayed for peace and a good harvest. The judges liked how his collection of

images-this is just one-put a human face on a national symbol, showing daily life on

and around the iconic wall. See the rest of Tian Li's photo essay online at ngm.com.

LEGAL NOTICE

If you made a purchase or return at a TJX store listed below, you could get benefits from a class action settlement.

Para una notificación en Español, llamar o visitar nuestro website.

A settlement has been reached with The TJX Companies, Inc. and Fifth Third Bancorp ("Defendants") in a class action lawsuit about the computer system intrusions into personal and financial information at TJX retail stores. The settlement provides benefits to those shoppers who may have been damaged in some way.

The United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts will have a hearing to decide whether to give final approval to the settlement, so that the benefits can be issued. Those included have legal rights and options, such as excluding themselves from or objecting to

the settlement. Eligible Class members can submit a claim for benefits from the settlement. Get a detailed notice at www.TJXsettlement.com.



have had out-of-pocket costs above \$5 and/or lost time between January 17, 2007 and June 30, 2007 stemming from the intrusion(s), you can get one or two vouchers, depending on your documentation, for credit on purchases at the TJX stores in the amount of \$30 each (*i.e.*, up to \$60 in total in vouchers) or checks in the amount of \$15 each (*i.e.*, up to \$30 in total by check). TJX will also hold a future, one-day, special event reducing prices on all merchandise by 15% at the TJX stores listed here, available to all shoppers making purchases on the day of the special event. The settlement also confirms steps TJX has taken to strengthen the security of its computer systems. The

settlement does not mean the Defendants violated any laws or did anything wrong. The Defendants deny any claims of wrongdoing in

WHO'S INCLUDED?

The Class includes everyone in the United States, Puerto Rico and Canada who made a purchase or return at a T.J. Maxx, Marshalls, T.J. Maxx 'n More, Marshalls MegaStore, Maxx. The HomeGoods, A.J. Wright, Winners or HomeSense, believe their personal or financial data was stolen or placed at risk of being stolen from TJX's computer systems, and think they were damaged from it. This includes those who made returns without a receipt and were previously notified by TJX that their name, address and driver's license or military, state or tax identification number were compromised.

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T.J. MAXX MARSHALLS T.J. MAXX 'N MORE MARSHALLS MEGASTORE THE MAXX HOMEGOODS A.J. WRIGHT WINNERS HOMESENSE

this case.

How DO YOU ASK FOR BENEFITS?

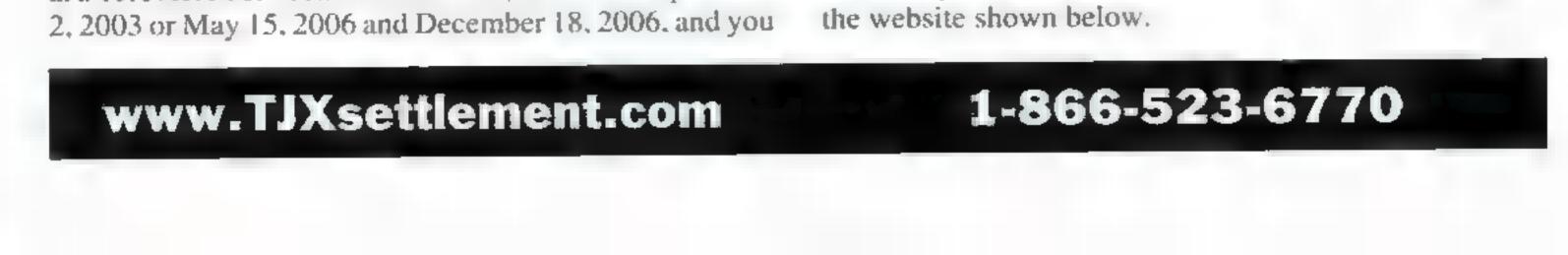
Eligible Class Members can call 1-866-523-6770 or go to the website for a claim form, then fill it out, sign it, include the documentation it requires, and mail it to the address on the form. Please note that there are different deadlines for different benefits. The earliest deadline for benefits is May 29, 2008.

YOUR OTHER OPTIONS.

If you don't want to be legally bound by the settlement, you must exclude yourself by **June 24, 2008**, or you won't be able to sue, or continue to sue, the Defendants

about the legal claims this settlement resolves, ever again. If you exclude yourself, you can't get any benefits from the settlement. If you stay in the settlement Class, you may object to it by **June 24, 2008**. The detailed notice explains how to exclude yourself or object.

The Court will hold a hearing in this case, known as In re TJX Companies Retail Security Breach Litigation, No. 07-10162, MDL No. 1838, on July 15, 2008, to consider whether to approve the settlement, and a request by Class Counsel for fees of up to \$6,500,000, and costs and expenses of up to \$150,000. You or your own lawyer may ask to appear and speak at the hearing at your own cost, but you don't have to. For more information, go to





ANIMAL

Li Feng Hubei, China

These monkeys are destined for a life in the laboratory. Judges appreciated this photographer's hard-edged take.



LANDSCAPE Dottie Campbell Moab, Utah

Is it I landscape or a photo of a car? A landscape, the judges decided, admiring its reflective approach to a conventional view.



PEOPLE

Jean-Claude Louis Tibet

This image of two Tibetan boys won over the judges with its multiple layers, its sense of anticipation, and windowed framing.



Imepiece Disappears

ack in 1933, the single most important watch ever built was engineered for a quiet millionaire collector named Henry Graves. It took over three years and the most advanced horological technique to create the multifunction masterpiece. This one-of-a-kind watch was to become the most coveted piece in the collection of the Museum of Time near Chicago. Recently this ultrarare innovation was auctioned off for the record price of \$11,030,000 by Sotheby's to a secretive anonymous collector. Now the watch is locked away in a private vault in an unknown location. We believe that a classic like this should be available to

true watch aficionados, so Stauer replicated the exact Graves design in the limited edition Graves '33.

The antique enameled face and Bruguet hands are true to the original. But the real beauty of this watch is on the inside. We replicated an extremely complicated auto210 individual parts that are assembled entirely by hand and then tested for over 15 days on Swiss calibrators to ensure accuracy. The watches are then reinspected in the United States upon their arrival.

What makes rare watches rare?

Business Week states it best ... "It's the complications that can have the biggest impact on price." (Business Week, July, 2003). The four interior complications on our GravesTM watch display the month, day, date and the 24 hour clock graphically depicts the sun and the moon. The innovative engine for this timepiece is powered by the movement of the body

> as the automatic rotor winds the mainspring. It never needs batteries and never needs to be manually wound. The precision crafted gears are "lubricated" by 27 rubies that give the hands a smooth sweeping movement. And the watch is tough enough to stay water resistant to 5 atmospheres. The movement is covered

Many fine 27-jewel automatics that are on the market today are usually priced well over \$2,000 dollars, but you can enter the rarified world of fine watch collecting for under \$100. Try the handsome Graves '33 timepiece risk



The face of the original 1930 s Graves timepiece from the Museum of Time.

free for 30 days. If you are not thrilled with the quality and rare design, please send it back for a full refund of the product purchase price.

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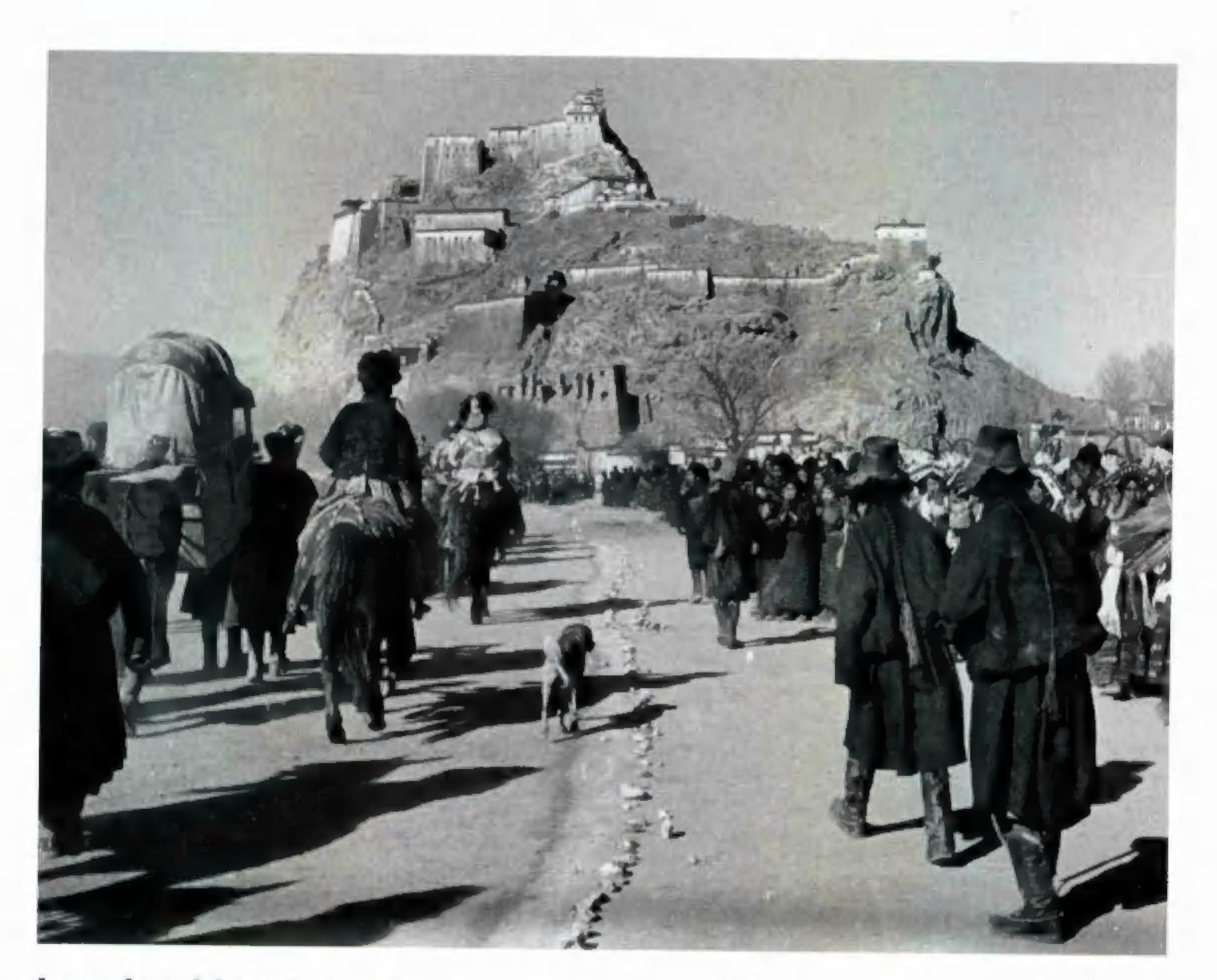
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Leaving Lhasa His palanquin carried on the shoulders of the faithful (left), the 15-year-old Dalai Lama fled Tibet's capital as the Chinese army advanced in 1950. "Pious Tibetans hurried from far-off settlements to see him, for being in his presence gave incomparable blessing," wrote Heinrich Harrer, who served as the young leader's tutor and reported on his experience in the July 1955 Geographic. "They lined the entire trail from Lhasa to Chumbi Valley, 200 miles southwest, with parallel rows of pebbles to protect their harried King from evil spirits." The Dalai Lama was able to return to Lhasa the next year. He escaped again, to exile in India, after a failed Tibetan uprising against Chinese rule in 1959—and has never been back. *—Margaret G. Zackowitz*

* Look Into Our Archive See more National Geographic coverage of Tibet at ngm.com.

PHOTO: HEINRICH HARRER

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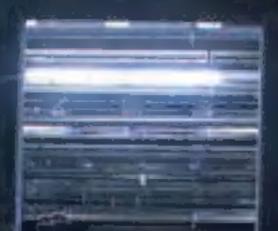




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